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ERRATA.

- Page 99, line 15, for *pairings*, read *parings*.
 Page 113, line 4, for *Melsini*, read *Mersini*.
 Page 128, line 10, for *Venketeswami*, read *Venkataswami*.
 Page 224, line 26, for *du*, read *des*.
 Page 227, line 8, for *Leusahn*, read *Lensahn*.
 Page 229, note 1, for *partly*, read *hardly*.
 Page 229, insert figures 1 and 2 before respective notes.
 Page 230, line 10, for *totems*, read *totem-tribes*.
 Page 258, line 7, for *three*, read *six*.
 Page 251, note 4, for *Wotjaken*, read *Wotjäken*.
 Page 251, note 5, for *Roman*, read *Römische*.
 Page 252, note 8, for *Volksferte*, read *Volksfeste*.
 Page 258, line 12, for *in animal corn-spirit*, read *in the animal corn-spirit*.
 Page 259, note 8, for *Oelnographia* read *Olsnographia*.
 Page 266, line 1, for 1843, read 1870.
 Page 266, lines 12, 13, read *Nyare Bidrag till Kännedom om de Svenska Landsmälen, Bih. I. 3*.
 Page 315, line 12, for *of Labros*, read *y Labros*.

Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XI.]

MARCH, 1900.

[No. I.

THE LEGENDS OF KRISHNA.

BY W. CROOKE, B.A.

(Read at Meeting of 21st June, 1899.)

THE cycle of folklore and popular belief which centres round Krishna, one of the most important elements in the neo-Brâhmanical creed of modern India, forms an interesting chapter in the development of Hindu religious myth and cultus. This neo-Brâhmanism is now the working faith which controls the spiritual destinies of two hundred and seven millions of people. It is a faith without a definite creed, with no church, no pope, no convocation. It is the most catholic of the old world religions, providing as it does for the needs of jungle-folk on the borderland of savagery and for those most keen-witted of religious disputants, the Vedantists of Mathura or Benares. It is a great missionary religion, working not in the way with which we are familiar, through societies and an organised body of teachers, but by the agency of shock-headed Jogis and ash-covered Sannyâsis. It is one of the most catholic of faiths, because though it has many gods it enforces the worship of no one deity on any of its members.

Hence for the purpose of estimating the prevalence of different forms of Hindu belief statistics are of little value.

At the last census each person was asked to name the god which he usually worshipped; but this does not exclude the possibility that he may worship more than one. On the contrary, it is certain that to meet the varying needs of his life he combines the belief in his personal god with that of others, few or many. The basis of his belief is animistic, but he supplements this form of worship by the casual or periodical veneration of one or several of the members of the official pantheon. When we find, then, that five and a half millions of people in the Panjab and North-Western Provinces professed devotion to Krishna, we may assume that a very much larger number revere him as a member of the class of deities which are known generally as Vaishnava, or grouped round the personality of Vishnu.

This is not the place or time to discuss in detail the historical development of the cult; but a few words must be said on this point as an introduction to the consideration of his legends, which is the special subject of this paper.

He is, to begin with, a comparatively new god, that is to say, he does not appear in the Vedas. We first hear of Krishna, son of Devakî, in the Chhândogya Upanishad, one of the supplements to the Sâma Veda, which are clearly later than the Sanhitas or Brâhmanas, and in their present recension embody the views of that school of philosophical Brâhmanism which is of course separated by a long interval from that of the nature worship embodied in the earlier hymns. Krishna is here only a scholar, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and perhaps a member of the military caste.¹ Passing on to the Epic period, in the Mahâbhârata, which was probably composed between the time of the Greek traveller Megasthenes (306—295 B.C.) and the second half of the first century of our era,² we find that Krishna occupies a higher place, but still his divinity is not fully assured. Râma and Krishna are here at once gods

¹ Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, 71.

² *Ibid.*, 186.

and men. They are accepted as incarnations of Vishnu, but at the same time they are regarded as human heroes, acting under the influence of human motives, and taking no advantage of their divine supremacy. Krishna even worships Siva and wins boons from him.¹ Later additions to and interpolations in the text of the Epics assert his divinity; and in particular this view of his nature finds expression in the celebrated philosophical poem known as the Bhâgavad-gîta, which is obviously a late supplement to the Mahâ-bhârata. The same view was again enforced and extended in the Hari-vansa, and especially in the Bhâgavata Purâna, which may be as late as the tenth or eleventh century of our era.

It is impossible, then, to assign a definite date to a cultus thus gradually developed, as we are able to do in the case of other great historical religions, Buddhism, Islâm, or Christianity. There seems, however, good reason to suspect that the elevation of Krishna to divine honours was coincident with the rise of the neo-Brâhmanism on the decay of Buddhism. The older Brâhmanism was too esoteric, too much the faith of priests and nobles, to influence the masses. In this respect Brâhmanism learned a lesson from Buddhism, and with a view to popularise its tenets adopted not only the cult of the Saktî, or female element, which may have been one of the indigenous idolatries, but also drew within its fold some of the local or tribal gods, of whom, as we shall see, Krishna was probably one. Nay more, it has been conjectured that in this new alliance it was not Vishnu, but Krishna, who was the predominant partner, and that it was by its combination with the Krishna or other allied cult that Vaishnavism finally won its way to the affections of the masses in Northern India.

It is outside my present purpose to discuss how far the

¹ Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, iv., 169, 182 *seqq.*; Wilson-Hall, *Vishnu Purâna*, i., intro., xv. For a summary of the story of Krishna, see Mahâ-bhârata, *Drona Parva*, sec. ii., trans. Ray, v., 31 *seqq.*

new revelation may have owed its inspiration to Christian or other Western influence. It has been supposed that on the one hand Buddhism profoundly influenced the Western Church, and the analogies between Lamaism in Tibet and the ritual and organisation of the Roman Catholic Church have attracted the attention of many observers. It has been supposed again that the episode in the Mahâbhârata where Nârada the Saint visits Sweta-dwîpa, "the White Island," implies early relations between Brâhmanism and Alexandrian Christianity.¹ I need hardly dwell upon the indications in the Krishna mythus, presently to be related, which suggest the same inference. The question has, however, hardly yet been settled to the satisfaction of scholars,² and in any case it would lead me too far from the special subject of this paper.

I pass on to the popular traditions concerning Krishna.³

To put the story as briefly as possible, we find a branch of the great Yâdava clan of Kshatriyas, who probably owed their origin to a Yu-echi invasion from Central Asia, settled on the banks of the River Jumna, with Mathura as their capital. That they were outsiders or new-comers is important when we come to consider certain elements in the cultus which indicate foreign influence. Krishna, we are told, was the son of Vasu-deva and Devakî. The former, by one interpretation of his name, is one of the old celestial genii, "the bright ones"; the latter, Devakî, "the divine one," has been identified with the seductive water-nymph of folklore. But more probably in Devakî and Krishna we may see representatives of the world-wide group of the divine mother and the fateful child—Nana of Babylon, Isis and Horus in Egypt, Lucina and her child in Latin tradition.

¹ Weber, *Indische Studien*, i., 400, ii., 168; Frazer, *Literary History of India*, 231; Ray, *Mahâbhârata*, viii., 752.

² See Dutt, *Ancient India*, ii., 276.

³ The most accessible authorities are Growse, *Mathura, a District Memoir* Allahabad, 1883; Lallu Lâl, *Prem Sâgar*, translated by E. B. Eastwick.

At the time of the birth of Krishna we find the rightful king, Ugrasena, like so many savage half-priests, half-monarchs, when their power of controlling the deities becomes abated, deposed by his son, the usurper Kamsa. He, we are told, cruelly persecuted his rivals, an incident in which some have recognised a conflict of cults, and some have gone so far as to call Kamsa a Jaina, an opponent of the neo-Vaishnava faith. However this may be, Krishna, who was a cousin of the usurper, defeated and slew him and restored Ugrasena to the throne. But his triumph did not last long. He was himself attacked by the father-in-law of Kamsa, Jarasandha, king of Magadha or Bihâr, who was allied with a monarch known as Kala-yavana, the Ionian or Greek, who may have been a king of Kâshmîr or one of the Bactrian descendants of the Great Alexander. Krishna, we learn, was forced to abandon Mathura and retire to Dwâraka on the Gulf of Kachh, where, after various adventures, including his interposition on the side of the Pândavas in the great war recorded in the Mahâbhârata, by which their success was assured, he is said to have been slain, and his bones, according to later Brâhmanical tradition, rest inside the famous idol at Jaggan-nâth.

From a saga like this, obviously the work of many hands and embodying many variant traditions, it is hopeless to sift any historical facts. Krishna may have been a local hero of the Yâdava clan of Kshatriyas; they may have brought with them some part of his cultus from their home in Central Asia; they may have absorbed parts of it from the indigenous idolatries; his tale may suggest a conflict between more than one rival faith. For the sober historian it possesses little more value than the myths of the Arthurian cycle. To one school of mythologists, of course, the whole story is only a solar myth.

We are perhaps on safer ground when we suggest that round a single figure, which may possibly be historical, the cultus, as we find it, may be the result of that syncretism

which is so familiar an agency in the growth of religious belief. He may, in other words, be only a figure-head round which local myths have centred, like Alexander or Karl the Great. In the case of the Greek Apollo, for instance, the wolf, the ram, the dolphin, the mouse, the laurel probably represent so many variant cults, some of them possibly totemistic, which came to be grouped round and identified with one dominant divine personage. When from this point of view we come to examine the Krishna mythus we find his connection with cattle specially prominent. His most popular titles are Govinda and Gopâla, "the cowherd;" and as a protector of kine he may be readily compared with similar deities in other parts of the world. Thus, in Greece we have Apollo Nomios, and in another shape Krishna as Murli-dhara, "the flute-player," reminds us of Apollo Mousegetes, the leader of the Muses, the patron of music and song. So in Greece and Rome, Hermes and Pan, Pales and Priapus, Faunus and Lupercus, Bubona and Epona, and possibly the Babylonian Eabani,¹ are in various forms the deities who give increase to the flocks and protect domestic animals from wild beasts and other dangers—a cult in no sense primitive, but based on the needs of a society in which cattle-breeding and husbandry are already well advanced. From this point of view he has his kinsfolk in the local divinities of modern India—Siddhua and Buddhua, Nâgar-deo, Chaumu, Kaluva and Bîr-nâth, who shield the herds from harm.² So his brother Bala-râma seems to have been an old agricultural god known as Halabrit, "the plough-bearer," with the lustful temper of Pan or Silenus, just as Sîtâ, "the furrow," was embodied in the Râma myth. He may thus in his most primitive form have been an old cattle god adopted into the Brâhmanical pantheon,

¹ Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 576.

² Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, ii., 81 seqq.; *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, i., 63 seqq.

like Siva in his form as Pasupa or Pasupati, "the lord of kine," especially of those set apart for sacrifice.

We may even go further and suggest a conflict of rival agricultural cults. Krishna elopes with Rukminî, "the golden," the betrothed of Sisupâla, whom he encounters and decapitates with his discus. Now Sisupâla means "cherisher of the young," in particular of young animals, the equivalent of the Greek Kourotophos, the guardian deity of the springs near which the hair of youths and maidens was dedicated. In this view he too would be another rural deity of the same kind.

Like that of so many gods, the birth of Krishna was in wondrous wise. A supernatural voice, what the Greeks would have called a Phemê, announced to the usurper Kamsa that his slayer would be born in the eighth son of his kinsman Vasudeva and Devakî, niece of the deposed monarch Ugrasena. To defeat the prophecy, Kamsa summoned the pair to Mathura and kept them in ward. Each of their children as it was born was destroyed. But when Devakî became pregnant for the seventh time the embryo was miraculously transferred to the womb of Rohinî, "the red cow," the second wife of Vasudeva, and it was reported that Devakî had miscarried. In due time the fated child was born and was named Sankarshana, "he that was taken from the womb of his mother," and later on Balarâma, or Baladeva, who aided his brother Krishna in overthrowing the tyrant. With this we may compare the many folktales which tell of the birth of the fateful child, and it is needless to suggest the obvious analogy to the tale of Herod.¹

We have, again, here an instance of the common case of a duality of gods—the Asvins, the Dioscuri, Yama and Yamî, Romulus and Remus, Epimetheus and Prometheus, indicating either syncretism, the combination of rival cults,

¹ Compare the Slavonic versions, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi., 456 *seqq.*, and the legend of the birth of the successors of the Egyptian Kheops, Maspero, *loc. cit.*, 386 *seqq.*

or perhaps in the cases where male and female deities are grouped in pairs the idea of the world of sense developed by the normal connection of the sexes.

Here, too, we have the familiar case of the god or hero born in some abnormal way. Often he is motherless or unborn or springs from his father alone, as Athena from the thigh of Zeus, which suggests the couvade, or the mother is delivered by the Cæsarean operation. One or other of such incidents presents itself in the tales of Dionysus, Asklepios, Lychas, Sakya-muni, Tristram, Macduff, Dubrune Nikititsch, and Sigfried.¹

But the tale of the transfer of the embryo from one mother to the other is more unusual, and several threads of folk belief seem to be combined which is not easy to disentangle. To begin with, abnormal birth is regarded as auspicious, for instance, in the Hindu belief that children born by the foot presentation are lucky.² Next, we have the common belief in the possibility of birth transference, where by cutting off part of a child's clothes, soaking it in water and drinking it, causes a barren woman to conceive, or the Chinese theory that the soul of a great man is incarnated in one of the women who watch his funeral.³ The Aruntas of Australia, as described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, have adopted this as the normal explanation of the fact of conception. We meet similar cases of interference with and transfer of the embryo in the legend of Indra, who fearing that Aditi would bear a child superior to himself, entered her womb and cut the fœtus into forty-nine pieces; of the child born at Kausambi, swallowed by a fish and carried to Benares, where he is adopted by the wife of a nobleman and recognised by his true mother; when the case comes to be

¹ Ploss, *Das Weib*, ii., 405, 407; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (trans. Stallybrass), i., 385; Elton-Powell, *Saxo Grammaticus*, intro., lxiv.

² *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii., 78.

³ *Ibid.*, iii., 116. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, i., 160; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i., 239.

tried by the king he decides that the child belongs to both mothers, to one by maternity, to the other by adoption, and hence it was called Bakula, "he of the two septs"; of Buddhasatva, who entered into Chandra-devî and was conceived of her.¹

So we have triple maternity in the tale of Siva in his form as Tryambaka, "he who has three mothers,"² as Dionysus was Dimetor, the Bimatrix of Ovid.³ In the same way Heimdall was the son of nine mothers, giantesses. Reinhart, after the Cæsarean operation, was brought to birth in the stomachs of newly-slaughtered swine, and Agni was the son of many mothers.⁴ A further development occurs in the tales of adoption, as that of Herakles and Hera, where the adopting mother goes through the farce of a simulated birth, which Diodorus tells us was a practice of the barbarians of his time.⁵ In the *Legenda Aurea* we read of the birth of Judas, announced to be a fateful child, exposed and taken up by the queen of the Isle Scarioth, who simulates pregnancy, and represents the recovered child to be her own.⁶ Lastly, it has passed into modern folklore in the tale of Seven Mothers and their Son,⁷ naturally suggested by the conditions of a polygamous household.

All the fateful children of the folktales have miraculous powers at birth. Otus and Ephialtes, another case of dualism, who were born of monstrous size;⁸ the new-born Apollo, who in the Homeric hymn, when he tastes the nectar and ambrosia, leaps from his swaddling clothes,

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bengal, xxxiv., 226; Ward, *Hindoos*, ii., 55, 395.

² Barth, *Religions of India*, 161.

³ *Metam.*, iv., 12.

⁴ Grimm, *loc. cit.*, i., 234, 389; Rig Veda, iii., 23, 3; x., 45, 2; i., 141, 2; also compare the story of the birth of Huitzilopochtli, Bancroft, *Native Races*, iii., 310 *seqq.*

⁵ Hartland, *loc. cit.*, ii., 419.

⁶ Cap. xlv., a reference for which I am indebted to Mr. Hartland.

⁷ Temple-Steel, *Wideawake Stories*, 98 *seqq.*

⁸ *Odyssey*, xi., 305 *seqq.*

begins to speak, and wanders through the land; Vali, in the Norse tale, when one night old sallies out to avenge the death of Balder; and Magni, son of Thor by the giantess Jarnsaxa, when three nights old flings off the giant's foot with which the monster would have crushed his father.¹ So the Dayaks have a like marvellous child in Seragunting; and Robert the Devil, we are told, bit off his nurse's paps and overpowered all the children of his age; while Tom Hickathrift "at ten years old was six feet high and three feet across, with a hand like a shoulder of mutton, and everything else proportionable."² As St. Benedict sang Eucharistic hymns before he was born, so in the Zulu folktale there is a child who speaks in the womb of his mother; the Kafir Simbukumbukwana speaks on the day of his birth; and the Hindu heroine, Somaprabhâ, talks the moment she is born.³ Thus this long series of precocious imps passes on to the boy Cadi of the *Arabian Nights* and the *Enfant Terrible* of our *Punch*.⁴

The feats of the infant Krishna are of the usual class. He upsets a waggon loaded with pails of milk; when he is tethered to a big wooden mortar he drags it away with him; he pulls down monstrous trees; and so on.⁵ As a good example of the evolution of myth the last miracle has been localised at Girnâr in Kâthiâwâr, with the Brâhmanic gloss that the trees were really divine personages compelled by a curse of some saint to enter the form of trees till they were uprooted by Krishna, the merciful saviour.⁶

¹ Grimm, *loc. cit.*, i., 320 *seqq.*

² Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i., 198 *seqq.*; Hazlitt, *National Tales*, 59, 431.

³ Callaway, *Nursery Tales*, i., 6; Theal, *Kaffir Folklore*, 73; Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, i., 119, 156. The child of Mamatâ speaks in the womb, *Mahâbhârata*, *Adi Parva*, sec. 104, Ray trans., i., 314.

⁴ Burton, *Arabian Nights* (Library Edition), x., 243; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii., 12 *seqq.*; Miss Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, 279 *seqq.*

⁵ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 55 *seqq.*; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iv., 279 *seqq.*

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, viii., 441 *seqq.*

Krishna again appears as a slayer of dragons and monsters. Like all great cycles of myth, that of the worm-slayer seems to be founded on more than one train of thought. In one phase, as in the defeat of Ahi or Vritra by Indra, or in the legend of Imra as told by the Kâfirs of the Hindu Kush, it is a pure nature-myth. The snake, like the frog or lizard of many savage mythologies, swallows the waters, which are released when the monster is destroyed. Again, while the theory advanced by some writers¹ that the myth is a reminiscence of the struggles of early man with some

“Dragons of the prime
That tare each other in their slime,”

is opposed to all the conclusions of palæontology, on the other hand the tale may in some cases be based on the discovery of the gigantic bones of some extinct saurian. One famous group of tales of this class, that in which the hero slays the dragon which demands a human victim, an impostor appears and claims the reward, the trick being discovered by the production of the tongue or some other part of the slaughtered dragon, probably, as Mr. Hartland shows,² points to a reaction against an early custom of offering a victim to some water spirit conceived in dragon form.

But in many cases the myth seems to represent a conflict of rival cults. Such, for instance, seems to be the most reasonable explanation of the slaughter of the python by Apollo. Here the dragon may be associated with the worship of Ge or some of the other chthonic powers, which was overthrown by the new-comer god. In other cases, as in that of Athena associated with the earth-snake, Erechtheus-Erichthonios, we may suspect the fusion of

¹ Gould, *Mythical Monsters*, chap. vi.

² Hartland, *loc. cit.*, iii., 66 *seqq.* ; Frazer, *Pausanias*, i., 476 ; ii., 528 ; v., 60, 143.

divergent cults. The fact, again, that some of our English dragons, like those of Sockburn or Wantley, where the dragon has been euphemised into a roguish attorney, have their home on a hill or prehistoric tumulus, suggests that some cult of the dead may be at the root of the matter. When the myth became Christianised, the overthrow of rival beliefs becomes more obvious, as in the case of St. George, St. Patrick, and St. Mac Creiche in Ireland, St. Philip, who slew the dragon of Hierapolis, St. Martha and the Tarasque dragon in Provence, St. Florent and the dragon of the Loire, St. Cado, St. Maudet and St. Pol in Brittany, St. Keyne in Cornwall, St. O'Heany and the Banagher worm, and many others.¹

The monster-slaying feats of Krishna are of various kinds. One day the children of the herdsmen were playing and entered what they supposed to be a cave in the rocks, but which was really the expanded jaws of the serpent king, Aghâsura. He drew a deep breath and sucked them in, but Krishna bade them be of good cheer, and swelled his body to such a size that the serpent burst, and all the children stepped out unharmed.² Here we have the common myth of the swallowing and the disgorging, which appears in the tale of Jonah and the whale, that of Kronos and Herakles, and all through savage folklore.³

On another occasion an immense boa-constrictor seized Nanda, Krishna's foster-father, on which the youthful god set his foot on the head of the monster, which was forthwith transformed into a lovely youth. For, ages before, a Ganymede of the Court of Heaven, Sudarshan by name, in his insolence danced before Angiras, the sage. The holy

¹ Maury, *Essai sur les légendes pieuses du Moyen Age*, 144; 1st Series *Notes and Queries*, vi., 147, 519; 3rd Series, ix., 29, 158; 8th Series, vi., 113; 2nd Series, viii., 509; Tezcatlipoca in Mexico, Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, iii., 283.

² Growse, *loc. cit.*, 57.

Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (2nd ed.), i., 295.

man, who by the force of his austerities was able to overcome the gods themselves, in his wrath cursed him that he should become a snake, and remain in that loathly shape till the advent of the gracious Krishna.¹

Again, while Krishna is bathing, he is attacked by Kâliya, "the black one," the dragon of the River Jumna, the personified spirit of the waters, which in so many tales, that of Narcissus for instance, drags down the beautiful hero into the gloomy depths. Krishna crushed the head of the monster, and would have slain him had not the dragon's wives come out of the water and implored him to take pity on their spouse. Krishna forgave him, adding that he should ever bear upon his brow the impress of the divine feet and be thus safe from his enemies,² one of the many myths invented to explain the marks on the bodies of beasts and birds—the blood on Robin Redbreast, the mottled plumage of the Indian black partridge, the stripes upon the back of the little house squirrel.³

Like Herakles and so many heroes of the folktales, Krishna overcomes other monsters and demons. Thus, when the demon Bachhâsura, in the form of a mighty crane, gobbled up the herd-boys, Krishna allowed himself to be devoured with them; but he proved so hot a mouthful that the demon was only too glad to drop him. Then the divine youth seized the brute by his long bill, and rent him in twain.⁴ So with the demon Dhenuka, who found the boys plucking fruit from his palm-trees, and, taking the form of an ass, kicked Balarâma on the breast. But Balarâma hurled him so high that he fell on the top of one of the tallest trees and caused the fruit to fall in abundance.⁵ The monster, as in the case of Jack and the

¹ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 61.

² *Ibid.*, 57 *seqq.*; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iv., 286 *seqq.*

³ Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, ii., 242, 251.

⁴ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 55; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iv., 297 *seqq.*

Beanstalk, is always fair game, and it is rather a respectable act to plunder him.

Again, the demon Pralamba, disguising himself as a youth, challenges Krishna and his companions to race. Balarâma mounted on the shoulders of the demon, who forthwith ran away with him. But Balarâma squeezed and beat him to death, and from this feat gained his name—Râma, "the strong one."¹ Many other demons assumed the forms of savage beasts and met the same fate—Kesin as a wild horse, Byomâsur a wolf, Arishta a bull²—all types of the rude animal forms which have attacked mystics and religious men and women since the dawn of religious history. Of another type is the witch Pâtanâ, who tries to suckle the divine child with her devil's milk; but Krishna sucked so hard at her breasts that he drained her life-blood and caused her to perish miserably.³

But, beside dragon-slaying, Krishna does many deeds of mercy. He cures the hump-backed woman Kujâ with a touch; he rescues the son of the Brâhman Sandîpani, who had been slain by the ocean-demon Panchajana. Him Krishna drags from the deep of the sea, and then, like so many divine personages, in the spirit of the Homeric Nekuia, he invades the underworld and rescues the Brâhman boy from the clutches of Yama, god of death, as Herakles saves Alkestis.⁴ Another echo of Homeric folklore meets us in his contest with the whirlwind-demon, Trinâvarta, who would have whirled him away; which reminds us of the Thuellai, or wind-gusts, which carry off the daughters of Pandareus, a myth which later on developed into that of the hideous Harpies of Vergil.⁵ The event is commemorated at a cell in Mahâban, where

¹ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 59; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iv., 300 *seqq.*

² Growse, *loc. cit.*, 61, *seqq.*; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iv., 333, 340.

³ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 55; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iv., 276.

⁴ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 63 *seqq.*

⁵ *Iliad*, xvi., 150; *Odyssey*, xx., 66 *seqq.*

the demon-whirlwind is represented by a pair of enormous wings overshadowing the divine child, the same motif which is illustrated on the temple of Apollo at Delos, where Boreas bears away Oreithyia.¹

Another interesting myth is connected with the rescue of the child by his father Vasu-deva. When he was forced to fly from the tyrant Kamsa, he took Krishna in his arms and plunged with him into the waters of the Jumna, then swollen by the autumn rains. At his first step the water reached the child sleeping in his arms, but as he advanced the wave could rise no higher, and they both crossed in safety. The miracle is commemorated by a brass toy, known as "the Vasu-deva Katora," or the bowl of Vasu-deva, a brass cup enclosing the figure of a man so contrived that when water is poured into it, it cannot rise above the child's foot, being drained away by a hidden duct at the bottom.² This same oriental myth is told of the youth Zardusht, who passes over the waste of waters so that the soles of the feet of him and his companions were only moistened.³ It is thus the eastern version of the tale of St. Christopher, of which there are many representations in the windows of our English churches. Later on the tale was allegorised to represent the Saviour bearing the sins of the world, while in Finnish tradition the saint has been identified with the golden river king, who is invoked to send a host of otters into the net of the hunter.⁴ Folklore, in fact, has been busy with this saint, much of whose cult is obviously connected with some primitive worship of a water spirit. Thus, as he waded in the sea, he left his mark on the Dory fish; when he struck his staff into the earth it bloomed and budded, as

¹ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 55; Miss Harrison, *Myths and Monuments of Athens*, Intro., lxvii.

² Growse, *loc. cit.*, 54.

³ Shea-Troyer, *Dabistan*, i., 230.

⁴ 1st Series *Notes and Queries*, v., 372 *seqq.*, 495; Abercromby, *Prehistoric Finns*, i., 339; Gloucestershire Folklore, 46 *seqq.*

did the Glastonbury thorn and the tooth-pick of the Indian Buddha.¹

Another remarkable legend is that in which Krishna protects the flocks from rain. The boy, we are told, denied the right of Indra to receive sacrifices, another instance of the conflict of rival cults. The rain-god in his wrath poured down an irresistible deluge, which would have destroyed the flocks had not Krishna raised the hill of Govardhana and shielded them by holding it up on his finger for seven days and nights.² The suggestion of Professor Wilson³ that the story is based on the domed cave or cavern temples in various parts of India hardly explains the matter. We have closer analogues in the Nepalese legends of the peak Tendong, which miraculously elongated itself to save the refugees from the great flood, or the case of the Jaina Saint, Parsva-nâtha, over whom while engaged in his austerities his enemy, Kamatha, caused a mighty rain to fall, on which the Nâga or serpent king, Dharmadhara, shaded him with his hood, a story localised at Ahichhatra in Rohilkhand.⁴ We may also compare the many tales of the raising of the sky from the earth, the heaven-pillars, as in the Atlas myth, and stories of the miraculous acts of gods or demons who drop mountains from their aprons as they fly over the earth. St. Anthony of Padua, we are told, was able to keep the rain off his congregation as they prayed in the open air; and the same tale is told of many other saints.⁵

To quote Mr. Growse's summary of another curious legend: "But who so frolicsome as the boy Krishna. Seeing the fair maids of Braj performing their ablutions in the Jumna he stole along the bank, and picking up the

¹ Brand, *Observations*, iii., 194.

² Growse, *loc. cit.*, 60; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iv., 314 *seqq.*

³ *Vishnu Purâna*, iv., 316.

⁴ Waddell, *Himalayas*, 110; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, i., 359.

⁵ Compare the Australian legend, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii., 257.

clothes of which they had divested themselves, climbed up with them into a kadamb tree. There he mocked the frightened girls as they came shivering out of the water, nor would he yield a particle of vestment till all had ranged before him in a row, and with clasped and uplifted hands piteously entreated him. Thus the boy taught his votaries that submission to the divine will was a more excellent virtue than even modesty."¹ A most excellent moral drawn from a *risqué* story. Here we have a version of the Swan-maiden cycle of tales which has been so fully discussed by other writers that it is necessary only to refer to it. The tale, I need hardly say, is found in many shapes in Indian folklore.²

But the form of the story as it appears in the Krishna cycle is remarkable because it is associated with the Vastraharana, the sacred tree, which is said to be so named, "the seizing of the clothes," from this incident. Now this appears to be one of the rag-trees so common in all parts of the world, where sick people hang their clothes or fragments of them so as to pass the disease on to the tree-spirit, or to gain strength through communion with the spirit which proves its vitality by reviving with each returning spring. It looks very much as if this may have been the basis of the tale, the clothes hanging on the branches suggesting a further development of the myth in the direction of the Swan-maiden cycle. I am not aware if there are other cases in which the two cycles thus converge. If such be the case it would be interesting as another instance of a not unusual method of the growth of myth.

Passing on from folktales to ritual, we notice, in the first place, that the Krishna cult is very closely associated with

¹ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 59.

² *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii., 120, 153 *seqq.*; Tawney, *loc. cit.*, ii., 453; Miss Stokes, *loc. cit.*, 89; Miss Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, 167 *seqq.* In the *Mahābhārata*, *Adi Parva*, sec. 78 (Ray, i., 240), the Gandharva, Chitraratha, mixes up the clothes of the girls while they are bathing.

the observances of the Holî feast, which is nowhere celebrated with more enthusiasm than in places where the worship of Krishna is most popular. Most people are now agreed that these rites of the sacred fire of spring are in the way of a charm to secure the kindly influence of sunshine and the fertility of crops and cattle. If this be so, it supplies another indication that Krishna was originally a local god of agriculture and cattle, with whose cultus such rites would naturally be connected. To this may be added some facts pointing in the same direction. The first is that in India, as in other places, omens are drawn of the prospects of the coming season from the way in which the smoke and blaze of the fire ascend.¹ It was probably from some rural oracle like this that at the temple of the Ismenian Apollo divination was practised by observing the appearance of the sacrificial flame and the ashes of the burnt offerings. In fact, this habit of observing the smoke and fire was reduced to a regular science, known as Pyromanteia or Kapnomanteia.²

Another fact from which the same inference may be drawn is the prominence of mock combat and abuse, particularly of women, during the Holî.³ Customs of this kind are found in many parts of the world. In Greece we have the women's race in honour of Dionysus; the contest of the Spartan boys at the Plane-tree-grove; the raillery directed at women; the yearly contest of maidens with stones and clubs in honour of Athena; the rites of the Dædala; the sham fight at the Eleusinia; the Lithobolia or stone-throwing custom at Troezen; the Taurokalapsia or Thessalian bull-fight, and so on.⁴ In Rome the same

¹ Crooke, *Agricultural and Rural Glossary*, 125.

² Sophocles, *Œd. Rex*, 21; *Antig.*, 1005 *seqq.*; Herodotus, viii., 134; Euripides, *Phon.*, 1285 *seqq.*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii., 270; Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities* (2nd ed.), i., 646.

³ Growse, *loc. cit.*, 92; Crooke, *Popular Religion*, ii., 316.

⁴ Pausanias, iii., 13, 7; ix., 32, 2; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i., 91 *seqq.*; Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii., 492; iii., 267 *seqq.*; Herodotus, iv., 180.

custom is represented by the Equirria or Mamuralia, the Matronalia Festa, the Liberalia and the Lupercalia, in which there was a mock human sacrifice, the foreheads of the youths being smeared with the knives still dripping from the slaughter of the victims.¹ This, we know, was a common charm to promote the fertility of the crops, and a survival of rites like these may possibly be traced in the modern carnival.

In India we have many instances of the same type—the Bagwah or stone-throwing in Kumaun; the Barra, or tug of war between adjoining villages, which is part of the funeral rites of the Maghs; the combat between the people of the two quarters of the town of Pushkar; the sham fights in the Hindu Kush, where women are privileged to abuse the Ra or chief; the stone-throwing rite at Ahmadnagar, which if discontinued causes a plague of rats, if well done brings abundant rain; and among the Bhîls a branch of a tree is planted in the ground which the men try to uproot and are belaboured by women.²

Going further afield, we have the scramble to ascend a tree among the Nahuas of Western America; the flinging of cocoanuts as a rain charm in Ceylon; the Dayak combat to scare evil spirits; the stoning custom at Seoul in Corea; the Kâfirs of the Hindu Kush flinging an iron ball on a holiday or fighting with snowballs at the Taska feast; the Burmese women at the new year flinging water over each other; the abuse of women and unrestrained sexual licence at the Nanga rites in Fiji, which may be a survival of group-marriage, now invested with a ritual significance; the flinging of stones at the doors of the cells occupied by holy men

¹ Smith, *loc. cit.*, i., 753.

² Crooke, *loc. cit.*, ii., 321; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii., 99; Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, ii., 34; Broughton, *Letters from a Mahratta Camp*, 356 *seqq.* And compare Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii., 492; iii., 267; *Indian Antiquary*, v., 5; vi., 29.

at the Phapa rites in Siam ; and the mock combats of various American Indian tribes.¹

I need hardly refer to the cases of the late survivals of tribal contests in Great Britain which have been illustrated by Mr. G. L. Gomme.² We know that many of the most ancient fairs in this country are connected with the ancient cemeteries and some cult of the dead in which mock combats and even blood-letting were part of the observances. It would be tempting to suggest that we have a similar ritual survival in some of our English games, like "The Raid," "Scotch and English," and "Prisoners' Base."³ Bull-baiting, again, which in some cases seems to be a survival of a water-sacrifice,⁴ often takes the form of a contest between rival villages or townships. Akin to these are other popular ceremonials in which animals take part, such as the habit of horse-riding at certain feasts.⁵ Wren-hunting, which is done by fishermen in the Isle of Man to keep off storms, was originally possibly a procession in honour of the sacred beast which later on turned into a hunt, like the custom of the Munda girls in India, who on a feast-day hunt and kill any pigs, sheep, or goats of neighbouring villages which they can come across, and that of the youths in Bihâr, who have a festival on which they hunt hares and jackals.⁶

¹ Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, ii., 330 ; i., 84 ; *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii., 85 ; Ling Roth, *loc. cit.*, i., 260, 414 ; *The Times*, 8th September, 1891 ; Robertson, *Kâfirs of the Hindu Kush*, 584 *seqq.*, 592 ; Symes, *Mission to the Court of Awa*, ii., 210 ; *Burmah Gazetteer*, i., 417 ; *Reports, American Bureau of Ethnology*, 1881-82, 295, 337 ; Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, 153 ; Bowring, *Siam*, i., 159 *seqq.* ; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi., 126.

² *Village Communities*, 240.

³ Mrs. Gomme, *Traditional Games*, ii., 79 *seqq.*, 183 ; *Denham Tracts*, i., 151 *seqq.*

⁴ *Folk-Lore*, vii., 346.

⁵ Martin in Pinkerton, *Travels*, iii., 600, 606, 668, 716.

⁶ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii., 140 ; Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, ii., 336 ; *Denham Tracts*, i., 203 ; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii., 98 ; Grierson, *Bihâr Peasant Life*, 401 ; Gomme, *loc. cit.*, 112 *seqq.* ; *Folk-Lore*, iii., 463 *seqq.*

The same idea may underlie some of our most popular village rites in this country—the Hood Game at Haxey;¹ the ball contests at Bury St. Edmunds and Newcastle;² the ram-hunting at Eton;³ the bull-baiting at Stamford and Great Grimsby;⁴ the ball playing on Shrove Tuesday at Whitby, where if the game be not well played the youngsters will be sure to fall ill at harvest time; similar rites at St. Ives, Dorking and Nuneaton; the Whipping Toms at Leicester; the whipping of the cat in Shropshire; the catching of a hare at Cleshill in Warwickshire; and the hurling of pitchers into houses in Cornwall.⁵ A closer parallel to the Hindu rite may be found in the custom of mock-combat round a bonfire at Marlborough on the 5th of November.⁶

The published accounts of many of these rites are very meagre; but we may perhaps see in some or all of them one of two principles—either a racial or tribal contest between the residents of adjoining villages or parts of the same township—or survivals of some form of animal or perhaps human sacrifice, the object being to propitiate the powers of evil which affect the fertility of the crops or injure children or cattle.

Another important rite connected with Krishna worship is that of swinging the idol or one of the devotees before the image of the god. In Bengal this rite is known as the Dola Yâtra or swinging rite, and is performed in spring or

¹ *Folk-Lore*, vii., 330 *seqq.*; 2nd Series *Notes and Queries*, iv., 486; 4th series, ix., 158 *seqq.*

² Hone, *Everyday Book* (ed. 1878), i., 215.

³ 7th Series *Notes and Queries*, iv., 416, 467; 2nd Series, vii., 201.

⁴ 5th Series *Notes and Queries*, ii., 224; Hone, *loc. cit.*, i., 741; *Gentleman's Magazine Library, Manners and Customs*, 211 *seqq.*

⁵ 5th Series *Notes and Queries*, vii., 120; 8th Series, viii., 28; 1st Series, ix., 223 *seqq.*; 3rd Series, i., 224; 6th Series, i., 154; 1st Series, vii., 235; 2nd Series, vii., 312; Hone, *Year Book* (ed. 1878), 269; *Gentleman's Magazine*, *loc. cit.*, 258.

⁶ 1st Series *Notes and Queries*, v., 365.

about the middle of March. The image of the god is carried on a swing or placed in a seat or cradle, which as soon as the dawn appears is set quietly in motion for a few turns. This is repeated at noon and again at sunset. During the day, as at the Holî in Northern India, a good deal of horseplay goes on, sprinkling of coloured powder and water, abuse of women, and so on.¹ In Northern India, at the Tij or third day of the month Sâvan, in the autumn is a woman's feast, when they bathe, dress in their best, and swing in merry-go-rounds.² In the month of Sâvan in Bengal, Dharmarâja, who is here probably identified with Yama, god of death, has a feast where swinging goes on.³ The rite of swinging Krishna is also performed at Jaggannâth, and Mr. Pegge gives an illustration and account of the rite, while in Bombay a special fair of the same kind is held at Yellama's Hill.⁴ The Bengal hook-swinging rite, at which devotees torture themselves and some swing with hooks passed through the loins, has been often described. It prevailed in many parts of the country, and instances have been reported in quite recent times. The swinging of the god Lingo is prominent in the Gond Epic, and the swinging of witches is still common among some of the jungle tribes.⁵

These swinging rites prevail in many parts of the world. In Greece we have the Aiora, which is based on a legend that Dionysus was received by Icarius and taught the culture of the vine. Icarius gave some of the wine to the neighbouring peasants, who believed that they had been poisoned by it, and slew him. When they came to their senses they buried him, and his daughter, Erigone, guided to the grave

¹ Wilson, *Essays*, ii., 224 *seqq.* ; Ward, *Hindoos*, ii., 171 ; Monier Williams, *Hinduism and Brâhmanism*, 430.

² *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iv., 149.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 76.

⁴ Pegge, *Orissa Mission*, 118 *seqq.* ; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxi., 613.

⁵ Hislop, *Aboriginal Tribes*, App. 28 ; compare Ling Roth, *loc. cit.*, i., 368.

by her favourite dog, Maera, hanged herself on a tree close by. Dionysus thereupon sent a grievous plague which could be stayed only by the offering to him of the Phallus. Then, in order to appease the ghost of Erigone, the Athenian maidens all began to hang themselves. This madness could be appeased only by the institution of the feast of the Aiora, in which maidens swing themselves on trees, a clear instance of a folktale invented to explain a piece of primitive ritual.¹ By another story the rite seems to have been connected with the suicide of Phædra.² The Aiora has come down to modern times in the Greek islands. "On the Tuesday after Easter the maidens of Seriphos play their favourite game of the swing. They hang a rope from one wall to the other, put some clothes on it, and swing, singing and swinging one after another. Aware of this, the young men try to pass by, and are called upon for a toll of one penny each, a song, and a swing. The words they use are as follows: 'The gold is swung, the silver is swung, and swung, too, is my love with the golden hair.' To which the maiden replies: 'Who is it that swings me that I may gild him with my favour, that I may work him a fez all covered with pearls?' Then, having paid his penny, he is permitted to pass, and another comes and does likewise."³

The origin of these rites is obscure. In some cases they seem to represent merely a fertility charm, as when in Madras the Reddi brings home his bride, a swing is hung from the house-beam, a wooden doll is hung in it, and swung by husband and wife, while the women sing songs, obviously a charm to make their union fertile.⁴ In other cases it may be connected with the rule which prevents divine personages and those under taboo, as girls when

¹ Miss Harrison, *loc. cit.*, Intro., xxxix. : Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii., 461 ; *Classical Review*, iii., 378 *seqq.*

² Pausanias, x., 29, 3.

³ Bent, *Cyclades*, 5.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xviii. (1), 405.

they come of age, from touching either heaven or earth.¹ We have, again, the common custom of hanging masks on trees, which swing about and are supposed to promote their fertility—the Oscilla of Rome and the Dozzils of parts of England.² A bull-roarer is swung in the same way in the neighbourhood of Torres Straits as a fishing charm, and in Celebes dolls are hung on trees to protect the fruit.³ In the same class is probably the cult of Aparchomeme, the “hanging” Artemis. The children, we are told, hung up images of Artemis, and the men of Kaphyæ stoned them. The angry goddess smote their wives with sore disease, and thus the cult of the Hanging Artemis came to be instituted. We find also the same idea in the worship of Helene Dendritis.⁴

It shows itself in India in the custom of hanging up little cots on trees as a remedy for disease. In Madras when cholera appears, a swing is put up in the shrine of Bhargarmâ and worshipped.⁵ In fact, the idea seems to have generally prevailed that the swinging of anything before a god, from the hook-swinging of a devotee to the whirling Dervishes, was a mode of propitiating the divinity, every part of the person or thing offered being brought in succession into the immediate view of the god. Thus, we have in India the Evil Eye protectives of swinging lamps, rice pounders, and what not, round the head of the married pair. The Nahuas of Western America swung censers before their images and before the sun,⁶ and the swinging censer has come down to the Christianity of our own days. It is no doubt in consonance with some ancient rite of propitia-

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i., 223 *seqq.*

² Vergil, *Georgics*, i., 382 *seqq.*; Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*, ii., 305; *Folklore*, vii., 399.

³ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix., 406.

⁴ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii., 428, 634; Pausanias, vi., 22, 5.

⁵ Crooke, *loc. cit.*, i., 97; Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharutavarsha*, 154.

⁶ Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, ii., 318.

tion that in Bolivia people swing all day long on All Souls' Day in the hope that while they swing they may approach the spirits of their departed friends as they fly from Purgatory to Paradise. They swing as high as they can, so as to reach the topmost branches of the trees, and whenever they are able to pull off one of the higher boughs they think that they release a soul from Purgatory.¹

A large part of the Krishna legend relates to his amours with the Gopis, the wives and daughters of the herdsmen of the land of Braj. On this is based many of the erotic myths which form such a repulsive element in modern Vaishnavism. "Drawn from their lonely homes," as Mr. Growse tells the story,² "by the low sweet notes of his seductive pipe, they floated round him in rapturous love, and through the moonlight autumn nights joined him in the circling dance, passing from glade to glade in ever-increasing ecstasy of passion. To whatever theme his voice was attuned, their song had but one burden—his perfect beauty; and as they mingled in the mystic maze, with eyes closed in the intensity of voluptuous passion, each nymph as she grasped the hand of her partner thrilled at the touch, as though the hand were Krishna's, and dreamed herself alone supremely blessed in his undivided affection. Râdhâ, fairest of the fair, reigned queen of the revels, and so languished in the heavenly delights of his embraces that all consciousness of earth and self was obliterated."

This is the dance known as the Râsa-mandala, or circular dance, and in the popular representations of it "whatever the number of Gopis introduced so often is the figure of Krishna repeated. Thus each Gopi can claim him as a partner, while again in the centre of the circle he stands in larger form with his favourite, Râdhâ." By a similar legend a friend challenged Krishna to bestow on

¹ 8th Series *Notes and Queries*, vi., 345.

² Growse, *loc. cit.*, 61.

him one of his wives. "In whatever room thou findest me not," he answered, "she is thine;" and Saubhari the sage, we are told, visited all the daughters of King Mandhatri at the same time.¹

This is not the place to discuss the question of religious dances at any length. This much seems fairly clear, that they are often intended to act as a charm to promote the fertility of the animal and vegetable world. Pausanias tells us that one part of the cult of the chthonic powers, among whom the vegetation deities hold a prominent place, was the smiting of the underground folk with rods; and to this day at their seasonal dances the Kol girls in India kneel and pat the ground in time to the music, as if coaxing it to be productive.² The dance, then, was apparently a variant of this, and the beating of the ground by the feet of the dancers was an attempt to wake the slumbering gods of growth at each recurring spring. When, as in the Râsa-mandala, the dance took a circular form, another kind of charm was added, of which the tale of instances is legion.

We may, then, in the first place, compare with this dance of Krishna and the women that of the Grecian nymphs, the spirits of wood and spring, through whom the earth gives its increase. Homer tells us that they have fair dancing grounds and dance round Achelous, while the Agronomoi or wild-wood nymphs disport themselves with Artemis.³ Their successors, the modern fairies, dance in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," and rustics sometimes are privileged to see their dances in the England and Germany of our days.⁴ Like these are the dances of the Maenads, that

¹ Shea-Troyer, *Dabistan*, iii., 32; Wilson-Hall, *loc. cit.*, iii., 274.

² Pausanias, viii., 15, 3, with Frazer's note; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xxxv. (2), 184.

³ *Odyssey*, vi., 105: xii., 318; *Iliad*, xxiv., 615 *seqq.*

⁴ Aubrey, *Remaines*, 28; Grimm, *loc. cit.*, ii., 555; *Folk-Lore Record*, i., 27; Jones-Kropf, *Magyar Folk-Tales*, Intro., xxxiv.

of the naked youths in honour of Apollo, that of the Lacedaemonian maidens, and that of the Thyiads in Athens, the rite of Mother Dindymene and the Kordax on Mount Sipylus.¹ It is repeated in that of the Salii at Rome, and in the ritual of the Floralia. Of modern instances it is only necessary to name the puberty- and wedding-dance among savages, the Zulus for instance, and to this day there is a special wedding-dance in Brittany.² It is doubtless with the same motive that the Madonna del Mateno of Sardinia pirouettes in public, that there is a Whitsuntide dance at Echternach in Luxemburgh, and that the Mexicans dance in honour of Our Lady of Guadalupe.³ We have another survival of the same rite in the Furry or Faddy dance at Helston in Cornwall, which is said to commemorate a dragon which once passed over the town without doing any harm, possibly a reminiscence of the great rain-serpent.⁴

Secondly, in the Gopis we may recognise the temple-slaves of the East, concubines of the god, known in India as Devi-dâsis, an institution connected with the custom of marriage to the god, of which I have given many instances in another place.⁵ The same custom prevailed in Egypt; and these divine dancers passed into the Greek world as the Hierodouloi, of whom Strabo tells us there were six

¹ Pausanias, iii., 11, 9; 10, 7; iv., 16, 9; x., 4, 3; vi., 22, 1; Frazer, ii., 411; iii., 320; iv., 95, 147.

² Theal, *loc. cit.*, 217; 8th Series *Notes and Queries*, vi., 481; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii., 469.

³ 8th Series *Notes and Queries*, x., 397; 7th Series, ix., 381; 8th Series, x., 115, 202.

⁴ 6th Series *Notes and Queries*, xi., 468, 496; 5th Series, v., 507; vi., 32; 7th Series, ix., 424; Hone, *Everyday Book*, ii., 324 *seqq.*; *Gentleman's Magazine*, *loc. cit.*, 216 *seqq.*

⁵ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iv., 9 *seqq.*; C. Ramachendrier, *Collection of Decisions of the High Court and Privy Council on Dancing Girls*, Intro., 1 *seqq.*; Crooke, *loc. cit.*, ii., 118; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xviii. (1), 546; Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, (ed. Beauchamp) 133, 592; Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii., 288 *seqq.*

thousand at the temple of the Cappadocian Comana and three thousand at Morimene, while the early Musalmân invaders found five hundred at the great temple of Somnâth.¹ A variant of this institution leads us to the fable of the Amazons and the Land of Women of Celtic legend.²

I have left to the end of this Paper what is perhaps the most interesting part of the Krishna myths, the explanation of his name. The word means, "the black, the dark, or the dark blue one," and in the popular representations of him he is usually depicted as of a dark blue hue. The popular Hindu explanation, that he was originally born black, does not help us to an explanation. The difficulty of explaining his name was felt at a very early time, as is shown by the attempt to derive it from *krishi*, "ploughing," or from *krishi*, "what existeth," and *na*, "eternal peace."³ He may be, as we have seen, an agricultural god, but his name cannot be derived from his functions. Equally inconclusive is the view of one school of comparative mythologists, which identifies him with the setting sun.

His title opens up a very curious chapter in religious symbolism, that of the black or otherwise coloured gods.

To begin with Egypt, we have black gods in Isis and Osiris, the latter in his form as god of the dead, while he is green when a corn-god.⁴ Ammon is a blue god, which is the colour of the modern Buddhist ghosts, while Krishna is one of the nine black Vasu-devas of the Jainas, and by the early Buddhists he was regarded as the chief of the black

¹ Herodotus, i., 199; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 126, 676; *Struggle of the Nations*, 161, 182; Müller, *Dorians*, i., 282 *seqq.*; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii., 30, 450; Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities* (2nd ed.), i., 959; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i., 338.

² Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, i., 30, 146.

³ Muir, *loc. cit.*, iv., 219; *Mahâbhârata*, *Udyoga Parva*, sec. 69, Ray trans., iii., 227.

⁴ Plutarch, *De Iside*, 33; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* (ed. 1878), iii., 81; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 73; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 305; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i., 403.

demons.¹ In Egypt Hâpi, the Nile god, is sometimes red and sometimes blue.²

In Mexico, Acosta describes the idol of Vitziliputzli : " It was an image of wood like to a man, set upon a stoole of the colour of Azure, in a brancard or litter, at every corner was a piece of wood in form of a serpent's head. The stoole signified that he was set in heaven ; the idoll had all the forehead azure, and had a band of azure under the nose from one ear to another." ³ The aspect of other Mexican gods was similar, as that of Chalchihuitlicue and Cipattonal.⁴ Blue seems to have been a sacred colour, as in Yucatan the assistants of sorcerers painted themselves blue, which was the colour of the books used by the priests and at special feasts of the gods, the instruments used in every profession, the doors of houses, and even children were daubed with blue.⁵

In India black gods abound. Besides those to whom statues of black stone are dedicated, of which more later on, we have Siva and Râhu, Vishnu, Târâ, and Kâlî-devî. Siva, again, is known as Nîla-kantha, or " blue-necked," to explain which a myth was invented that his colour was derived from the drinking of the deadly poison, which otherwise would have destroyed the world. Sâraswatî, a river goddess, is blue ; and in his form as Nârâyana Vishnu has a blue stone image in Nepâl.⁶ The colour of Nârâyana obviously attracted attention in early times, for we have in the Mahâbhârata a story that it was only in the Iron Age that he became black.⁷

Among other black gods may be named the Japanese Dai

¹ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, i., 370.

² Maspero, *loc. cit.*, 37.

³ Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, iii., 291.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii., 297, 368, 491.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii., 697, 700.

⁶ Growse, *Râmâyana of Tulsi Dâs*, 49 ; Ward, *Hindoos*, ii., 26, 147 ; *Asiatic Researches*, ii., 313.

⁷ *Mahâbhârata, Vana Parva*, sec. 149 ; Ray, trans., ii., 448.

Gakf, "the great black one," who is a god of riches, like the Hindu Kuvera, "the ugly one," both probably black spirits of the hearth, like Brownie and the Cauld Lad of Hilton.¹ Malignant spirits and ghosts are naturally depicted as black, such as the cruel wood-sprite in Terra del Fuego, and the Ukraine god of evil. Our own Devil and others of his kinsfolk are described as black, and Pausanias speaks of the black ghost of Temesa.²

Passing on to Greece, we have the Nocturnal Dionysus and Dionysus of the Black Goatskin, the Black Erinyes, the Black Aphrodite, said to be so called because men indulge in vice at night, but who was really a chthonic deity of the grave, and the Black Demeter.³

English tradition supplies us with a black Godiva, who is doubtless a decayed deity of the older paganism.⁴

In more modern times we have the host of Black Madonnas, a very curious chapter in the history of hagiology.⁵ The legends given in explanation of their colour are of many kinds. Thus the image of Maria Egyptiaca was entirely covered with hair to represent her dwelling in the desert, "all black over all her body of the grate heat and brennyng of the sun," as the Golden Legend describes her.⁶ Others are said to have been buried in the earth or bogs,

¹ Gomme, *Folklore Relics of Village Life*, 88; the Mexican Yxtliton or Ixthilton, "the little negro," or "the black-faced," cured children of various diseases. Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, iii., 409.

² *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. 40; xii., 158, 162; xv., 145; Ralston, *Russian Fairy Tales*, 358; Pausanias, vi., 6, 11; Frazer, iv., 357.

³ Pausanias, i., 40, 6; ii., 35, 1; Frazer, ii., 525 *seqq.*; Aeschylus, *Choeph.*, 1038; *Sept. Contra Thebes*, 696, 975; Euripides, *Orestes*, 321; *Electra*, 1345; Pausanias, viii., 34, 3; ii., 2, 4; viii., 6, 5; ix., 27, 5; Farnell, *loc. cit.*, ii., 649 *seqq.*; Pausanias, viii., 5, 8, 42, 1; Frazer, iv., 406.

⁴ Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 85.

⁵ Grimm, *loc. cit.*, i., 313; Inman, *Ancient Faiths*, ii., 263; Brewer, *Dictionary of Miracles*, 526; 9th Series *Notes and Queries*, ii., 367, 397, 449, 475, 537; iii., 190, 376 *seqq.*, 452; iv., 77, 135, 177, 315.

⁶ Fosbroke, *Cyclopædia of Antiquities*, i., 102, quoting *Golden Legend*, fol. lxxii.

and to have been recovered from thence by some favoured votary. Such is the famous Madonna la Trouche, that found in the Cullen bog near Tipperary, the Madonna of Ballyvourney in the county of Cork, and that of St. Molaise at Innismurray.¹

Blackness is the characteristic of images other than Madonnas, such as the rag images of the Italian Befanas, which take the place of our Santa Claus and have blackened faces.²

The question of the explanation of the origin of these black gods is extremely complex.

In some cases we may suspect that they represent a racial type familiar to the people who first introduced this form of worship. We must remember that among some races blackness of complexion is not alone considered not unbecoming, but is even admired. One of the titles of the Zulu kings, for instance, was "You who are black;" and the lady in the Canticles says, "I am black but comely, O daughters of Jerusalem."³ We find the Egyptian queen, Nofritari, consort of Ahmosis, identified with Isis and depicted as a black-skinned goddess.⁴ Hence we can explain why St. Benedito, a black negro saint is worshipped on the Amazon, and on the Gold Coast the white man's God is said to be black, and he appears at the foot of the fetish-tree in the form of a black dog.⁵

Now it has been often noticed that some of the forms of the Indian Buddha and other black Hindu gods are of a distinctively negroid type, representing the deity with thick lips, long hanging ear lobes, and black curly hair

¹ Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 102; O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, iii., 206 note; Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, iii., 788, 1115; Southey, *Common-place Book*, iii., 174.

² 6th Series *Notes and Queries*, ii., 409.

³ Darwin, *Descent of Man*, 579; *Canticles*, i., 5; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv., 56; Featherman, *Negritoes*, 584 note.

⁴ Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 96, 98.

⁵ Bates, *Amazon*, i., 310 seqq.; Featherman, *loc. cit.*, 160 note.

which cannot be referred to any existing Indian people.¹ Dr. Waddell describes the Lama of Tibet as a man with short curly hair, like the conventional images of Buddha; the courtiers depicted in the rock paintings of the Ajanta caves have fair or dark brown curly hair, while the attendants are black with curly negroid hair, and some are dwarfs; the images of the Jaina saint Gautama have crisp curly hair, thick lips, and black skin.² The enlargement of the ear lobe has also been often noticed.³ Mr. Walhouse thus describes the image of Buddha at Karakal in South Kanara:⁴ "Remarkable it is, too, that the features show nothing distinctively Hindu. The hair grows in close crisp curls; the broad fleshy cheeks might make the face seem heavy, were it not for the marked and dignified expression conferred by the calm forward gazing eyes and aquiline nose, somewhat pointed at tip. The forehead is of average size, the lips very full and thick, the upper one long almost to ugliness, throwing the chin, though full and prominent, into the shade. The arms, which touch the body only at the hips, are remarkably long, the large, well-formed hands and fingers reaching to the knees." It may be suspected that in these representations we have a proof of negroid or negrito influence on Indian religious beliefs.

Again, in some cases, the blackness of certain images serves only to connote extreme antiquity. As we have seen, some of them are said to have been found in bogs or buried in the ground, and their dark appearance would corroborate this view of their origin, and sometimes, perhaps, tend to the growth of a conventional type. We know that in the Roman Catholic and Eastern churches it is a common

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xiv., 83; *Gujarat Gazetteer*, i., 458 note; *Asiatic Researches*, iii., 122.

² Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, 161; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii., 488; xiv., 67; xv. (1), 232.

³ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii., 192 *seqq.*

⁴ *Frazer's Magazine*, May, 1875.

incident in the ritual to burn candles or incense before such images; and an ancient Madonna would naturally become darkened in this way, as the fetish stone in an Indian village becomes dark from repeated oblations of oil and butter. The famous Black Rood of Scotland, for instance, seems to have presented the appearance of being blackened all over.¹ It was possibly the natural reverence felt towards old blackened images which suggested to the Greeks the construction of so many of their Xoana from ebony.²

In the same way, too, many of these images are said to have been blackened by fire. Thus we have the image of the Ithomatian Zeus, which was said to have been found in a burned forest, and there was another charred image of Athena.³ So Fryer describes a pagoda at Gokarna in Kanara made of black marble, and particularly venerated because it had escaped the fire.⁴ The same tale is told of a Lingam at Mândhâta in the Central Provinces.⁵ Al Azraki tells us that the black stone of Mecca was once of a refulgent bright colour, but became repeatedly blackened by fire both before and after the rise of Islâm.⁶ We have a similar instance in the image of the rough black stone which represents the jungle goddess Porâ Mât, which is said to have been rescued from a burning forest.⁷

At any rate the worship of black stones is a well-marked phase in the history of early religion. Among these we have the Bætuli of Syria, a word which is another form of the better known Hebrew Bethel.⁸ One of the Fiji gods is

¹ 1st Series *Notes and Queries*, ii., 409.

² Pausanias, i., 35, 3 ; 42, 5 ; ii., 22, 5 ; viii., 17, 2 ; 53, II.

³ *Ibid.*, iii., 26, 6 ; i., 27, 6.

⁴ *East India and Persia*, 159 *seqq.*

⁵ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 261.

⁶ Burckhardt, *Travels*, i., 297.

⁷ Crooke, *loc. cit.*, i., 114 *seqq.* The same story is told of the Santo Nino de Cebú and of a famous Cross in the Philippine Islands. Foreman, *Philippine Islands* (2nd ed.), 196 *seqq.*

⁸ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii., 135 ; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 569 *note*.

a black milestone, and in Bengal, Ward informs us, all stone images are of black marble, and the same type is particularly common in Bombay.¹ We may add the Sâla-grâma, or black ammonite, which represents Vishnu, and in Guatemala the famous oracular stone of Patinamit is black.²

We may suspect that many of these sacred black stones may have been originally meteorites.³ It is not difficult to understand why the sudden fall of a stone from the sky, the fall being often accompanied by terrifying sounds, or the train of fire flung behind it by a "falling star," should cause extreme terror to the beholders, and excite awe and reverence. We find in many places traditions of what the Greek called a Diopetes Agalma, which our authorised version of the Acts of the Apostles calls "the image which fell down from Jupiter."⁴ This was the famous image of Diana of Ephesus, of which we know little, save that it was black. Some say that it was a stone, others that it was made of ebony or vine wood, and had never been changed though the temple had been seven times rebuilt.⁵ Other Greek images were said to have fallen from heaven, like the Athena of the Akropolis, the Artemis of Taurus, the Sicilian Demeter, the Aphrodite of Paphos, and the Cybele of Pessinus. In the same way Elegabalus in Sun-form was worshipped at Emesa in the shape of a black conical stone,

¹ Williams, *Fiji*, i., 221; Ward, *Hindoos*, ii., 233; *Asiatic Researches*, v., 240 note; iv., 46, 48; xi., 535; Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, iii., 24; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xvi., 517; xix., 450, 486, 530, 546, 582, 611; xx., 438, 442, 448, 450, 452, 455, 459, 465, 467; xxi., 521; xxii., 714, 807; xxiii., 550, 552, 679; xxiv., 300, 377; *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, xxxiii., 209.

² Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, iv. 123.

³ On this see the paper by Professor H. A. Miers, F.R.S., read at the 1898 meeting of the British Association, from which I have taken several of the following instances.

⁴ Acts, xix., 35.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvi., 79; Farrar, *St. Paul*, 358; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i., 1099.

which was reported to have fallen from the sky.¹ In Mexico, Quetzalcoatl was represented by a black stone or by several small green stones, most likely aerolites which were said to have fallen from heaven.² In India the image of Vasu-deva, father of Krishna, came down from the heaven of Indra, thus connecting Krishna with an aerolite cult; that of Sitalâ at Jasoli fell from the sky, and the ancestors of the Madaga sept of Kâfirs in the Hindu Kush, and that of the Mech in Assam came down from the sky in a thunderbolt, as the stone which Kronos spewed up was worshipped, and the Syrian Aphrodite sprang from an egg which fell from heaven into the Euphrates.³

As might naturally be expected the worship of aerolites is widespread. Many races call flint weapons "thunderbolts"; healing powers are attributed to them; they are hung over cattle sheds and round the necks of children; they are worshipped by the Khyens of Assam; one was found in South Russia, set in a gold ring, and was no doubt used as an amulet.⁴ So, stone knives, following the potent influence of conservatism in religious matters, were largely used in ritual, in slaying swine in Rome, in Egyptian embalmment, in the Hebrew rite of circumcision.⁵

The number of sacred meteorites is legion. Professor Miers mentions one that fell in Ensisheim in Elsass in 1492, which was taken to the village church, where it is still preserved. An aerolite fell in Sugolia on the borders of Hungary

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. W. Smith), i., 281.

² Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, iii., 281.

³ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, ii., 785, 800; Robertson, *Kâfirs of the Hindu Kush*, 160 *seqq.*; Pausanias, x., 24, 6; Frazer, iii., 339; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii., 87.

⁴ Frazer, *Pausanias*, v., 355; 8th Series *Notes and Queries*, ii., 321; Tylor, *Early History*, 208; Grimm, *loc. cit.*, iv., 1221, 1686; Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 356 *seqq.*; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, i., App., lxii.; vi., 149.

⁵ Livy, i., 24; Herodotus, ii., 86; *Exodus*, iv. 25.

in 1514, which was hung in a church on an iron chain.¹ Raffles speaks of one which fell in Java in 1421, which is preserved as a sacred object in a mosque. One at Charcas in Mexico is built into the wall of a church and worshipped by women. Another, which fell at Benares in 1798, was supposed to imply the anger of the gods; and another, seen in Râjputâna in 1867, was promptly ground to powder by the people to render it harmless. At the tomb of Mahmûd in Bijapur is what is called a meteoric stone hanging from a chain which is said to guard the tomb from lightning: it is really a piece of nephrite or jade.² Mr. Walhouse describes a similar stone in Southern India.³ In 1802 one fell at l'Aigle in France, which from the fright it caused is said to have effected the conversion of a sceptic. After the fall of one in Ardèche the peasants would not work near the spot till they had sprinkled it with holy water. In East Africa, in 1853, such a stone was anointed with oil, dressed with beads and set up as a god. An Indian stone was "decked with flowers, daily anointed with *ghi*, or clarified butter, and subjected to frequent ceremonial worship and coatings of sandal-wood powder." Two which fell in Japan more than one hundred and fifty years ago were formerly worshipped yearly at the temple in Ogi. One of them is now in the British Museum, where any member of the Society so disposed may start a local cult of his own. As I write, I find in *The Times* ⁴ an account of a stone which fell at Mount Zomba in British East Africa in January last. The people sat round it thinking it miraculous and enchanted.

Finally may be mentioned the well-known meteorite of Aigospotami, the Hajar-ul-Aswad, or great black stone, at the Kaaba in Mecca, which is clearly an aerolite, and that

¹ 7th Series *Notes and Queries*, vi., 325.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxiii., 606.

³ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii., 35 *seqq.*

⁴ 18 May, 1899; other Indian examples in *Bombay Gazetteer*, xv. (2), 275; *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, xxx., 415.

worshipped at Sîtamarhi in Bengal under the title of Adbhûtnâtha, or "the miraculous god."¹

We are then, perhaps, justified in suspecting that more than one line of influence may have contributed to the representation of Krishna as a black god.

There is, first, the Negrito element, which shows itself in the popular representations of Buddha.

Secondly, if Krishna in his earliest form be a god of agriculture and cattle, the blackness may connote his chthonic attributes.

Thirdly, if the Râjputs may be identified with the Yu-echi of Central Asia, they may have brought their black god with them. In this part of the world to this day black gods are found. At Tashkent is the shrine of the saint Zangata, "the dark father," who is said to have been dark like a negro; and a black stone near Bukhâra, called Sianghi Murâd, is rubbed by pilgrims, who touch their faces and beards with it.² There is also much in the earlier legends of the Râjputs which suggests an influence which, whatever it may have been, was probably not Hindu. The Pândavas were probably a rude non-Aryan confederation and brought with them foreign practices, such as polyandry, which shows itself in the Draupadi Legend, brutality to conquered enemies, as when Bhima drains the life-blood of Duscâsana.³ The brutal practices of Krishna's own tribe, the Yâdavas, chiefly as regards marriage, are notorious.⁴

It is thus possible that they may have largely absorbed some of the Dravidian or indigenous races among whom, as we have seen, black stone worship was prevalent. In fact there seems reason to believe that this element in the

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ii., 59; *Asiatic Researches*, iv., 388; Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii., 300 *seqq.*; Shea-Troyer, *Dabistan*, i., 49; Burckhardt, *Travels*, i., 172, 249 *seqq.*; Crooke, *loc. cit.*, i., 82; *Panjab Notes and Queries*, ii., 145.

² Schuyler, *Turkistan*, ii., 113; i., 138.

³ Frazer, *Literary History of India*, 216 *note*; *Mahâbhârata*, *Kavna Parva*, lxxxiii., 17; Ray, *trans.*, vi., 316.

⁴ Ragendralâla Mitra, *Indo Aryans*, i., 425.

Krishna cult is more prominent than is generally suspected. The Madura of Southern India is supposed to take its name from the Dravidian Madur, "Old town," and the Krishna cult to have been derived from that of the Southern Indian Kurappan, "the black one."¹ If this be so, the more famous Mathura of the North would be an offshoot from the southern shrine, a development the reverse of popular belief. And the Sanskrit derivation of the former, "the place of milking," may have been a later invention when a cult of kine was added to the ruder form of worship. It is noticeable that the connection between the teachers of Mathura and the Madras Brâhmans is even now well marked.

At any rate, whatever may be the genesis of the dark-hued Krishna, it is clear that his legends absorbed much of the popular folk-beliefs which in this paper I have tried to illustrate.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15th, 1899.

Mr. G. L. GOMME, Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting of the Society, and of the Joint Meeting of the Anthropological Institute and the Society held on the 27th June, were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. E. Vincent Evans, Miss C. Burdon, and Mr. A. Shewan as members of the Society was announced.

The resignation of Professor C. de la Saussaye was also announced.

The Secretary exhibited on behalf of the President a photograph of Professor Starr and his two boys, Manuel and Louis.

¹ Senâthi Râja, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xix, 578, note 3; Frazer, *Literary History*, 304 note.

Dr. Gaster exhibited 150 chap-books and some broad-sides and folk-songs he had collected during a recent visit to Italy, and related some of his experiences while collecting them.

The Secretary read a note by Mr. C. G. Seligmann on a Bull-Roader in Ceylon.

Mr. R. R. Marett then read a paper entitled, "Preanimistic Religion;" and a discussion followed, in which Mr. Clodd, Mr. Nutt, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman took part.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Marett for his paper.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20th, 1899.

Mr. G. L. GOMME, Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. T. Thorp, Mr. A. W. Ebbs, Mrs. C. Bond, and Miss K. Higford, as members of the Society was announced.

The deaths of Dr. Brinton and the Rev. E. Owen, and the resignations of Mr. W. J. Knowles, Mr. E. H. Man, and Mr. J. A. Strong, were also announced.

Mr. C. A. Myers exhibited a number of lantern-slides illustrating the scenery and some types and customs of the residents of Murray Island, Torres Straits; and subsequently read a paper entitled "An Account of Two Obsolete Ceremonies in the Medicine and Sorcery of Murray Island." In the discussion which followed, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Higgins, Miss Burne, and the Chairman took part. The Meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to Mr. Myers for his paper.

The following books were reported as having been presented to the Society since the June Meeting, viz.:

L'Ile d'Amorgos, by H. Hautteccœur; *A Study of the Census of the Pueblo of Cochiti*, *The Little Pottery Objects of Lake Chapala*, *Notched Bones from Mexico*, *The Mapa*

de Cuanhtlantzinco or *Código Campos*, *Aztec Place Names*, *The Aztecs of Ancient Mexico*, and *Some North American Spear-Throwers*, all by Professor Starr, presented by the Author; *South Slavonic Folklore Stories*, and *North-West Slav Legends and Fairy Tales*, both by W. W. Strickland, presented by the Author; the *Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie*, tom. ix., presented by the Society; vol. v., parts 3 and 4, of *Lud : Organ Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego we Lwowie*; *A Country Schoolmaster*, J. Shaw, by Professor Wallace, presented by the Author; *Byegones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, 1897, 1898, presented by the Editor; *Deutsches Krankheitsnamen-Buch*, by Dr. M. Höfler, presented by the Author; *Actes de la Société Philologique*, vol. xxiii., *Le Folklore dans les deux Mondes*, by the Comte de Charencey, presented by the Society; *Annual Report of British New Guinea*, 1894-1897 (4 volumes), presented by the Agent-General for Queensland; the *Administration Report for the Madras Government Museum*, 1898, 1899, presented by the Madras Government; *Bojagic Aldles Glück und Grab*, and *Haarschurgodschaft bei den Süd-slaven*, both by Dr. F. S. Krauss, presented by the President; *The Secular and Ceremonial Dances of Torres Straits*, by Professor Haddon, also presented by the President; *IZpráva o cinnosti Národopisného Musea Československého*, by Dr. Lubor Niederle; *Prispevky K. Dejinam Narodopisu Československého*, by Fr. ad Subert; *Transactions of the Japan Society*, vol. iii., presented by the Society; *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. xx., parts 1 and 2, presented by the Society; *Guide to Queensland*, presented by the Agent-General for Queensland; *Report of the Seventh Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, presented by the Association; *International Catalogue of Scientific Literature (Queensland)*, by J. Shirley, presented by the Agent-General for Queensland; and *Dansk Bondeliv*, by the Rev. H. F. Feilberg, presented by the Author.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17th, 1900.

THE 22nd ANNUAL MEETING, which was also a
SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. S. Hartland) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Statement of Accounts, and Balance Sheet for the year 1899 were duly presented, and upon the motion of Mr. Nutt, seconded by Mr. Emslie, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers for the year 1900 having been distributed, Mr. Kirby and the Secretary were, on the motion of Mr. Nutt, seconded by Mr. Emslie, appointed scrutineers for the ballot.

Upon the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Gomme, it was unanimously resolved that the following new rules be adopted and added to the rules of the Society, viz. :—

(A) The property of the Society shall be vested in three trustees.

(B) The first trustees shall be appointed at a Meeting convened for the purpose.

(C) The office of trustee shall be vacated (i) by resignation in writing addressed to the Secretary, and (ii) by removal at a Meeting of Members convened for the purpose.

(D) The Meeting removing a trustee shall appoint another in his place. Vacancies in the office arising by death or resignation shall be filled up by the Council.

(E) No trustee shall be responsible for any loss arising to the Society from any cause other than his own wilful act or default.

Upon the motion of Mr. Gomme, seconded by Mr. Kirby, it was resolved that Mr. Edward Clodd, Mr. Edward William

Brabrook, C.B., and Mr. James E. Crombie be appointed the first trustees of the Society, pursuant to Rule (B).

The President delivered his Presidential Address, the subject being "Totemism and some Recent Discoveries."

A hearty vote of thanks having been accorded to the President for his address, upon the motion of Mr. Clodd, seconded by Mr. Gomme, the result of the ballot was announced by the Secretary, and the following ladies and gentlemen who had been nominated by the Council were declared to have been elected, viz. :

As President: Mr. E. S. Hartland.

As Vice-Presidents: The Hon. J. Abercromby, the Rt. Hon. Lord Avebury, Miss C. S. Burne, Mr. Clodd, Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, Mr. A. Nutt, Lieut.-Gen. Pitt-Rivers, Professor F. York Powell, Professor J. Rhys, the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, and Professor E. B. Tylor.

As Members of Council: Mr. H. Courthope Bowen, Miss Lucy Broadwood, Mr. E. K. Chambers, Mr. F. C. Conybeare, Mr. J. E. Crombie, Mr. W. Crooke, Mr. F. T. Elworthy, Dr. Gaster, Mr. T. Gowland, Miss F. Grove, Professor Haddon, Mr. T. W. E. Higgins, Miss E. Hull, Professor F. B. Jevons, Professor W. P. Ker, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. S. E. Bouverie-Pusey, Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, Professor B. C. A. Windle, and Mr. A. R. Wright.

As Hon. Treasurer: Mr. E. W. Brabrook.

As Hon. Auditor: Mr. F. G. Green.

As Secretary: Mr. F. A. Milne.

Upon the motion of Professor York Powell, seconded by Mr. Wright, it was resolved that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the retiring Members of the Council, viz. Mr. C. J. Billson, Dr. Karl Blind, Mr. Leland L. Duncan, Mr. Emslie, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Ordish, and Mr. Wheatley.

The President laid on the table the *Ethnographical Album of the Native Races of Southern Mexico*, presented to the Society by Professor Starr, and referred to in the Presidential Address.

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

17th JANUARY, 1900.

THE Council have to report a year of quiet work. The number of members on the Society's roll, however, is unfortunately less by 3 than it was a year ago, the total being now 386, as against 389 at the beginning of the year 1899.

Among the losses by death, the Council regret to record those of Professor Brinton and the Rev. Elias Owen. The latter was an enthusiastic collector of Welsh folklore, and to his inquiries we owe the preservation of many a valuable relic otherwise too certain to have been lost. Dr. Brinton's name is familiar to all anthropologists as one of the most eminent of American men of science. For many years he had devoted himself especially to the study of the American race. His knowledge of the aboriginal languages was extraordinary; and among his many important works not the least was the publication of series of texts from rare, if not unique, MSS. His various writings on the mythology and beliefs of America and kindred subjects form a monument of learning and of lucid exposition. He was one of the founders of the American Folklore Society, and very early in its history he filled the office of President. As investigator and thinker his fame is assured, and his influence will long be felt in the study of savage races.

The financial position of the Society continues to be satisfactory, and due provision has been made for the extra volume for 1899.

There has been a slight falling off in the attendances at the evening meetings; but, save on one or two occasions, the meetings have been fairly well attended. The discussions following the reading of the papers have been generally well maintained and have often proved very interesting. The Council take this opportunity of reminding members of the privilege accorded to them of bringing friends to the meetings, and of assuring them that any friends they may bring will always be made welcome. The following papers were read in the course of the year 1899, viz:—

- Jan.* 18. The President's Address. "Britain and Folklore."
Feb. 15. "The Powers of Evil in the Hebrides." By Miss Goodrich-Freer.
 "The Tar-Baby Story." By Miss A. Werner.
March 15. "Japanese Myth." By Mr. W. G. Aston.
 "Two Thousand Years of a Charm against the Child-Stealing Witch." By Dr. Gaster.
April 19. "The place of Totemism in the Evolution of Religion." By Professor Jevons.
 "Some Wexford Folklore." By Mr. P. Redmond.
May 17. "The Machinery of Folktales as exhibited in Legends of the Panjab." By Lieut.-Col. Temple.
June 21. "The Legends of Krishna." By Mr. W. Crooke.
 "Devonshire Folklore." By Lady Rosalind Northcote.
 "More Folklore from the Hebrides." By Mr. M. McPhail.
Nov. 15. "Preamimistic Religion." By Mr. R. R. Marett.
Dec. 20. "An Account of two Obsolete Ceremonies in the Medicine and Sorcery of Murray Island, Torres Straits." By Mr. C. S. Myers.

The following objects have also been exhibited at the meetings, viz.:

- (1) A lucky wisp from Kilmore, co. Down. By Miss C. Patterson.
- (2) A stamp for Holy Church bread from Calymnos. By Mr. W. H. D. Rouse.
- (3) A bone from the head of the "Scar" fish used for divining the sex of an unborn child. By Mrs. W. R. Paton.
- (4) A photograph of a team of oxen ploughing at Elkstone, in the Cotswold Hills. By the President.
- (5) A Hornbook dating back to 1745, and referred to in Tuer's Hornbook. By Mr. W. Whitelegge.
- (6) Photographs of "May Ladies" at King's Lynn.

By the President. (7) Photographs of Professor Starr and his two boys Manuel and Louis. By the President. (8) Chapbooks, broadsheets, and Folksongs, from Italy. By Dr. Gaster.

Several of these objects have been presented to the Society by the exhibitors and placed in the Society's case at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The Council desire to thank the several exhibitors and donors of these objects, and to urge members to bring with them, or send for exhibition at the meetings, any object of folklore interest they may possess or be able to borrow for the purpose, as the exhibition of such objects tends in no small measure to enhance the interest of the meetings.

The chief event during the year has been the visit of Professor Starr to England, and the presentation by him to the Society of his valuable collection of folklore objects from Mexico. A dinner in honour of the Professor's visit was given at the Holborn Restaurant on Monday, the 26th June, at which about 60 Members and friends of the Society were present. The President occupied the Chair, and was supported by (amongst others) Miss Mary Kingsley, Sir Richard Temple, the Right Hon. J. Bryce, the Hon. H. H. Risley, Professor Rhys Davids, Professor Ridgeway, Mr. G. Griffith, Mr. N. McColl, Mr. C. H. Read, and Mr. E. J. Payne. The Council, in view of the Professor's munificent gift to the Society, had elected him an honorary member, and resolved to present him with a complete set of the Society's publications. After dinner the President announced the election and made the presentation on behalf of the Society.

By the courtesy of the Council of the Anthropological Institute, a joint meeting of the Institute and Society was held at the rooms of the latter on the day following the dinner; and at this meeting Professor Starr exhibited and explained the collection of folklore objects from Mexico he had presented to the Society. The Council desire to express their warmest thanks to the Council of the Anthropological Institute for putting their rooms at the disposal of the

Society for the purpose of the exhibition, and for so kindly welcoming and entertaining the members and friends of the Society who attended the meeting, and to Professor Starr, not only for his generous gift to the Society, but also for travelling across the Atlantic for the express purpose of giving an address explanatory of the objects comprising it. The objects have been deposited at the Cambridge University Museum of General and Local Archæology and Ethnology, the authorities of which have agreed to accept them on loan. The Council wish to take this opportunity of tendering their sincere thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Gomme for their care of the collection pending arrangements for its final transfer to Cambridge; to Mrs. Gomme for personally superintending its conveyance to Cambridge; and to Professor Haddon and other members of the Council who assisted in the delicate task of unpacking and repacking at the time of Professor Starr's visit.

The Council have also to thank Miss M. A. Owen for her generous offer to present to the Society her valuable collection of Musquakie beadwork and ceremonial objects. It is believed that no such collection exists on this side of the Atlantic. Miss Owen has kindly consented to write an account of the tribe and its ceremonies with the special object of illustrating the collection. It is hoped that the collection will reach this country in the course of the present year and be deposited with the other objects belonging to the Society in the Museum at Cambridge, where it will be readily accessible for inspection and study by members of the Society and other students of folklore and ethnography.

The Council have decided to recommend to the Society the adoption of some rules for the better security of its property by vesting the same in trustees and for the appointment of new trustees from time to time as occasion may require. They are convinced of the propriety of this step in view of the important additions recently made and promised to the Society's collection of folklore objects and of

the legal difficulties there would be in dealing with the collection in the absence of such rules.

The Society has issued, during the year, the tenth volume of the new series of its Transactions, *Folk-Lore*, which comprises, in addition to the more important papers read at the meetings, some smaller contributions, together with correspondence and reviews of folklore literature, both English and foreign, and a bibliography. It is a gratification to the Council to be able to draw attention to the enlarged size of the volume just completed, and (what is more important) to the valuable character of its contents. The Council cannot but feel that, in the present state of scientific inquiry, among the chief aims of such a publication should be the maintenance, not merely of a high standard of contents, but also of a wide and liberal interpretation of the term *Folklore*. In these respects, the Council would confidently appeal to the judgment of the Society, and urge the members to concur by their contribution of notes on matters coming under their observation, whether at home or abroad, in enhancing the value of the Transactions as a scientific record.

An illustrated catalogue of Professor Starr's collection of folklore objects from Mexico has been issued as the extra volume for 1898. It has been compiled by Professor Starr himself, to whom the Society owes a further debt of gratitude on this account. The extra volume for 1899, will be a further instalment of *County Folk-Lore*, which consists of folklore collected from printed sources. The following collections have been received, but the order of publication has not yet been determined:

(A) Northumberland, collected by Mrs. M. C. Balfour.

(B) The Orkneys and Shetlands, by Mr. G. F. Black.

(C) The North Riding of Yorkshire, by Mrs. Gutch.

Two or more of these will shortly be ready for press, and good progress is being made by other collectors. In response to the appeal made by the Council in the last

Annual Report, Mr. G. F. Black has undertaken to collect the folklore from printed sources of Inverness, Ross, and Argyle; and Mr. R. P. Chope has undertaken Devonshire.

Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Leicestershire, and Rutland were included in *County Folk-Lore* vol. i., already issued, and the only counties other than those mentioned above now being dealt with are Staffordshire, Norfolk, Hertfordshire, London and Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey. There is still, therefore, an immense area to be covered, and the Council are anxious to emphasise once more the importance of collecting these records of the past, and appeal for further assistance.

The Council have again observed with satisfaction that several members of the Society have participated in the proceedings of the Anthropological section of the British Association. The attention of members is drawn to the interesting character of the papers read in this section from year to year, and the opportunity which these meetings of the Association offer for the discussion of folklore problems and the exposition of folklore material.

The Lecture Committee, of which Miss Grove is Hon. Sec., is doing excellent work, and has arranged for meetings to take place during the present year in Battersea and Chelsea, at each of which Mr. Crooke has kindly consented to give a lecture on folklore, illustrated by lantern slides. During the past year Mr. Crooke has given a similar lecture at Wimbledon, an invitation having been addressed to the Council by the Technical Instruction Committee for that district for assistance in arranging a series of popular lectures on different subjects. The slides for Mr. Crooke's lectures have been prepared under the direction of Professor Haddon from negatives of photographs taken by him, and the Council desire to thank him very cordially for the facilities he has thus afforded them of carrying out the work of the committee. To Mr. Crooke also the thanks of the Society are especially due for so kindly volunteering to deliver the

lectures, and thus make the work of the Society better known in the outlying parts of London and the suburbs.

A year ago the Council named five projects which it was their desire to carry through. Of these the first was the completion of a bibliography of British folklore. Towards carrying out this project a sum of £50 has been appropriated, and it is hoped that during the present year substantial progress may be made with the work. The second project was a general index to the Society's Transactions, which the Council are glad to be able to state has been undertaken by Mr. G. F. Black, and the Bibliographical Committee has drawn up rules upon which the work should proceed. Next came the completion of the series of *County Folk-Lore* already mentioned. The two remaining projects were the classification and analysis of British popular customs, and a catalogue raisonné of folklore objects preserved in the Museums of the United Kingdom. No progress has yet been made with the former of these two, but the latter has been taken in hand by Mrs. Gomme.

The Council venture to remind members that they can powerfully aid in the execution of these very desirable projects, and can add to the permanent interest and value of the work in many other ways, by making known the existence and aims of the Society among their friends, and endeavouring to interest them in the science of folklore, as a means of illuminating local and national history, and of solving some of the great problems presented by the past evolution of human civilization.

The Council submit herewith the annual accounts and balance sheet duly audited, and the balloting list for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1899.

50

Annual Report of the Council.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Balance carried forward from 1898	...	...	By Printing Account (Publications):—		
Subscriptions, 1900 (10) ...	£10	10 0	Messrs. Nichols & Sons—		
" " 1899 (331) ...	347	11 0	<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. ix. 4, and Vol. x. 1 ...	83	10 10
" " 1898 (20) ...	21	0 0	Miscellaneous Printing ...	29	17 10
" " earlier years (10) ...	10	10 0	Engraving Blocks, etc. for Illustrations ...	28	5 6
			Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c (Jan.—Oct. 1899) ...	46	8 6
To Sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt:—	389	11 0	Binding Account (Simpson & Co.) ...	19	6 10
Second, Third, and Fourth Quarters, 1898 ...	96	2 11	Hire of Meeting Room (1898-99) ...	8	8 0
First and Second Quarters, 1899 ...	20	17 0	Expenses of Evening Meetings ...	4	9 0
			Advertising (<i>Atkennut</i>) ...	2	19 0
To payments for Starr Dinner ...	17	12 6	Subscription to Congress of Archeological Societies (2 years) ...	2	0 0
Subscription towards expenses of ditto ...	5	0 0	Indexing Folklore, Vol. ix. ...	5	5 0
			Expenses of Dinner to Professor Starr... ditto Exhibition and carriage of Starr Collection ...	31	13 4
			Lantern Slides for illustrating Lectures ...	6	19 0
			Secretary's Salary... ditto Poundage ...	0	16 0
				£35 0 0	
				21 19 0	
			Petty Cash Expenses (Editorial, &c.) ...	56	19 0
			ditto (Secretary) ...	3	16 10
			ditto Bank and other Discounts ...	10	0 0
				1 12 1	
			Balance in hand ...	15	8 11
				206	12 1
				£548 18 10	

Examined and found correct January 8th, 1900.
F. G. GREEN, *Auditor*

E. W. BRABROOK, *Treasurer*.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER, 1899.

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.
Printing of Publications :—				
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. x., Parts 2, 3, and 4 (say)	...	120	0	0
Indexing of <i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. x.	...	5	5	0
<i>Catalogue of Professor Starr's Mexican Collection</i>	...	65	10	6
<i>County Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. ii. (say)	...	70	0	0
Secretary's Poundage	...	20	3	0
		£280 13 6		
ASSETS.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions for 1899 and earlier years				
outstanding (51)	...	£53	11	0
Less Subscriptions for 1900 paid in advance (10)	...	10	10	0
Messrs. Nutt, Sale of Publications :—		43	1	0
Fourth Quarter, 1899	...	...	12	10 8
Balance in Bank	...	...	206	12 1
The stock in hand consisting of some 2,000 volumes, is estimated to considerably more than cover the difference of ...				
	...	...	18	14 9
		£280 18 6		

Examined and found correct January 8th, 1900.
F. G. GREEN, *Auditor*.

E. W. BRABROOK, *Treasurer*.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

THE delivery of a Presidential Address has now become a custom so firmly established in this as in other scientific societies that it is not lightly to be broken through, otherwise I confess I should have shrunk from a task which I feel to be one of the most onerous and difficult falling to a President's lot. In some societies the President is expected to give a sort of funeral oration on all the members who have passed away during the year. That is not a cheerful undertaking, even though sweetened with all the spices of the embalmers. In some societies the President is expected to dilate on the position and prospects of the organisation : a function performed for us by the Annual Report of the Council. We have been wont to leave the President a wider discretion : he may talk at large with impunity ; and if this result in his airing his own hobbies the members are generous enough to forgive him, and to make allowance for the occasion when they are most indifferent to the subject. The hope of this indulgence is my excuse, albeit a lame one, for the observations I am about to address to you. Fragmentary they needs must be, from the nature of the subject I have chosen. Yet I hope at least they may be helpful, though in ever so feeble a measure, to some who are interested in the problems confronting the student of folklore.

But, first of all, though I do not propose to detail the losses inflicted upon the Society by death during the year, one of them is of no ordinary kind and not to be passed by in silence. I refer to the death of Dr. Brinton. He was not an old man. Indeed many more years of activity might have been anticipated for him. But measured by the extent and variety of his works, and by the influence he wielded in anthropological science, especially in his native country,

his life was great and fruitful. To enumerate all his writings would be to recite a lengthy catalogue. Many of them were on subjects more or less controversial; yet I will venture to say that, however widely one might differ from his conclusions, it was impossible to read anything he wrote without receiving an intellectual stimulus such as results only from contact with an original mind. Some men display their best qualities only in their books. I remember a favoured undergraduate who had been asked to meet a writer of genius at the table of the head of his college, telling me afterwards of his disappointment. The author, to whose conversation he had looked forward with such lively anticipations, would only talk about the excellencies of buttered toast! Dr. Brinton would not have disappointed him. A man of wide learning and exquisite literary taste, there were few intellectual subjects on which he could not and would not talk in a way that conveyed instruction without patronage and made discussion one of the keenest of pleasures. He received every honour which academic and scientific bodies in America, as well as many in Europe, could bestow; and he added lustre to them all. His name was a household word to British, hardly less than to American, anthropologists; and we join with sad hearts in the last homage of regret universally paid by his countrymen to the author of *The Myths of the New World*, *The American Race*, and *Religions of Primitive Peoples*.

Nor can I forget, among those who on our own side of the water have passed into the unknown, one whose premature departure has for some of us cast a darker gloom over the closing months of a gloomy year, and has called forth more than one eloquent memorial of sorrow from intimate and sympathetic friends, and at least one graceful and touching tribute from an opponent in many a controversial tournament. Mr. Grant Allen was not, like professor Brinton, a member of this Society. But he was an earnest and widely-read student of tradition. Of great and multiform accom-

plishments, of a singular versatility and alertness of mind, he could not but be fully alive to all the possibilities of anthropological discovery and speculation ; and his edition of the *Attis* of Catullus and his *Evolution of the Idea of God* contained notable contributions to the discussion of some of the important problems debated of recent years. These make it the more to be regretted that circumstances did not admit of his giving himself wholly to scientific inquiry. His various erudition, accessible on every occasion, his high ideals and strenuous purposes, often expressed with gentle humour, the boldness of his opinions, maintained with vigour tempered with unfailing geniality, and the courage with which he faced consequences not to be disregarded even in these days, rendered personal intercourse with him always fascinating, and gave life and charm to his writings. He has, alas ! gone from us, leaving behind for all who knew him the memory of one of the truest, bravest, and most lovable of men.

After these mournful themes, let me pause for a moment on one of a different kind. Allusion has been made in the Report to Professor Starr's visit last June, when he crossed twice three thousand miles of land and ocean to present and explain his collection illustrative of Mexican folklore. We passed formal votes of thanks to him ; and in the Report we have renewed the expression of our indebtedness. We could not, however, have realised the magnitude of his gift without the Catalogue he has compiled with such care. It is by this time in your hands ; and in reading it you will note how, besides gathering and rendering accessible information from various quarters, he has poured forth abundantly from his own stores of observation. I rejoice to know that the collection has found a permanent place of deposit in one of the ancient homes of English learning. There, with the Catalogue in hand, we can study large divisions of the folklore of a people whose more barbarous traditions have been overlaid and transformed by

modes of thought, European indeed, but of a relatively backward type. It is due to our neighbours across the channel to say that they first appreciated the scientific instruction capable of being conveyed by such objects. M. Sébillot's collection of Breton children's toys filled one of the most interesting cases at the Exhibition of Paris in 1889, and now forms part of the National Museum at the Trocadero. I hope that Professor Starr's generosity will keep us in mind how much we owe in anthropological matters to America, and bind us more closely in friendship to a nation of the same language, and mainly of the same stock and the same ideals as ourselves. Nor has his personal claim on our gratitude ended here. I have the pleasure of laying on the table a further gift in the shape of a copy of his beautiful Ethnological Album of the native races of Southern Mexico. It is intended for our library, where students making use of it will prize it as a witness to his energy and unselfish enthusiasm, as well as for its own intrinsic value.

I am not going to trouble you to-night with a review of folklore during the century now rapidly drawing to an end. Such reviews may be useful and appropriate; but it is equally appropriate and more immediately important to touch upon some current questions. If, however, we glance back for a moment at the past, we shall, I think, find nothing more remarkable in the history of the science of folklore than the change in the methods of record and study since the establishment of the Society twenty-two years ago. Then, folklore had hardly got out of the stage of dilettantism. People in general had only begun to perceive that the phenomena with which we are concerned were something more than curious, in spite of the writings of Sir Henry Maine, Maclellan and, most, important of all, Dr. Tylor. The term *folklore*, in fact, was confined to scraps of tradition; and anything like the conception of it we now hold was unknown. The *Handbook of Folklore*, issued by the Society in 1890, marks a

long step in advance; and nine or ten years' subsequent experience has taken us beyond even that. Some people are said to prefer being in a minority. If there are such people, I am not one of them. Yet I look back with satisfaction on a vote which I gave in the Council when the initial chapter of the *Handbook* was under discussion, and I found myself alone, or almost alone, in objecting to the definition of folklore as there proposed, namely: "The comparison and identification of the survivals of archaic beliefs, customs, and traditions in modern ages." The *Handbook* itself, when published, justified, as I venture to think, my criticism and my vote, for the logical implications of the definition were silently set aside in the manner of treatment. I do not recall this from any personal reason, but as an illustration of the growth, the inevitable growth, of our conception of folklore. I say "the inevitable growth," because it was inevitable that, when folklore came to be studied scientifically by a number of students, it would be found impossible to confine the view primarily to the fragmentary relics of earlier stages of culture cropping out here and there in the midst of modern European civilisation, and to use the larger, more varied, and still living products of savagery and barbarism all over the rest of the world as mere illustrations to explain them. We were bound to take a wider view, for the illustrations themselves required to be explained. We were bound to begin at the other end by a careful study of savage life and custom as a whole. Thus only was it possible to understand the folklore of Europe; thus only could we see it in its true perspective, in its real relations with the immense and complex history of humanity.

But this was not simply to take a more scientific view of folklore; it was not simply to cast away the swaddling clothes that enwound the infancy of the study. In abandoning the last traces of dilettantism wherein all science begins, in attaining that insight which perceives that between

the tradition of the Irish peasant and the tradition of the Maori no generic difference exists, but both are equally folklore, and in grasping the importance of folklore as thus conceived for any investigation into the past of the human race, the study of folklore has become frankly anthropological. It is no longer possible, even if it were desired, to draw a line between the science of folklore and that side of anthropology which deals with the earlier intellectual, spiritual, and institutional development of mankind. They are one and the same.

Along with this advance in the conception of folklore has gone an advance in the method of recording it. During the last twenty years the work of observation and collection all over the world has swollen our libraries to an alarming extent. Happily the quality of the materials thus brought together has also improved, though we still have only too much cause to harden our hearts, if not to roughen our tongues, against that impertinent person the writer of scraps, the man of scissors and paste, for whom any piece of gossip, or any apocryphal story tricked out with what he may be pleased to call graces of style or local colour, is folklore. Such a person brings discredit on folklore; and charity, or even patience, is a doubtful virtue in dealing with him. The advance in accuracy of record I am referring to has been specially productive in the case of savage peoples. The way has been led by the American Bureau of Ethnology, to whose detailed researches on the tribes of the western continent anthropology is so greatly indebted. In other quarters of the globe individual effort has followed this example. To confine our view to Australia, Mr. Howitt, Mr. Roth, and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have revealed to us a new world of savage thought. The discoveries thus made have been promptly seized by inquirers into the history of human institutions and belief with the daring, but not always with the success, of a Cortes or a Pizarro. Their jarring theories and conflicting claims have raised the din of

controversy. The quiet non-combatant student is astonished to find himself in the theatre of war, and hardly knows where to seek a bomb-proof burrow that he may hide his head from the shells of their polemics.

One of the subjects on which recent inquiries have thrown most doubt is that of Totemism. We had looked upon Totemism as one of the most important and far-reaching of anthropological discoveries. We thought the theory solidly established, its foundations laid by MacLennan, its superstructure carefully erected by Dr. Frazer, and adapted by Robertson Smith and Dr. Jevons to the most modern requirements of theology. On a sudden two smashing blows are delivered, one by Dr. Franz Boas and the other by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen; and it seems there is hardly one stone of the fabric left upon another.

Dr. Boas has conducted for many years a remarkable series of investigations among the north-western tribes of Canada. The results have been given to the world partly in reports to the British Association, partly in publications of the Smithsonian Institution; and an important volume of stories has been issued by the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*. The monograph on the Kwakiutl Indians to which I want now to direct your attention was contained in the Annual Report of the National Museum at Washington for 1895, actually published in 1898.

I need not do more at the outset than remind you that totemism is a system having a religious and also a social side. The totem of a clan—it is with such only that we are concerned—is a class of material objects¹ revered by a body of persons who believe themselves to be united to the totem and to one another by a special bond, con-

¹ This is only a general statement; and it must not be taken to exclude a few objects, such as the Sun, the Evening Star, and so forth, which do not form, in the same sense as the rest, a class, and yet, I think are true totems.

lerring certain mutual rights and obligations. The totem is the crest or symbol of the clan. The bond uniting the clansmen to one another is that of blood: the tie of kinship. The questions raised by Dr. Boas concern the nature of the bond uniting the clansmen to the totem. "The members of a totem clan," says Dr. Frazer, generalising the information available up to 1887, "call themselves by the name of their totem, and commonly believe themselves to be actually descended from it."¹ But among the tribes of British Columbia, Dr. Boas tells us, "it must be clearly understood that the natives do not consider themselves descendants of the totem."² The characteristics of the totem, in fact, suggest relationship rather with the manitous of other North American tribes. When a youth belonging, for instance, to the Ojibways arrives at puberty, he undergoes certain religious rites, and fasts, until some supernatural being appears to him, generally in the form of an animal, and becomes his personal manitou, that is, his guide and protector for the rest of his life. Now the totem in British Columbia, according to Dr. Boas, would seem to be a personal manitou, become the hereditary manitou of a family.³ Miss Alice Fletcher, who has long lived in intimate converse with the Omaha of the United States, has been led independently to form the same opinion as to the origin of the totems among the Indians of the prairies. These opinions, if correct, will profoundly affect scientific speculation on savage religion and social polity. Though they cannot yet be considered as definitely established, we must accord them the respect due to opinions formed after long inquiry by competent and painstaking observers. At the same time, the legends related by Dr. Boas are hardly decisive of the exact relationship of the totem to the clan, as conceived by the peoples

¹ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 3.

² *U. S. Nat. Mus. Rep.*, 1895, p. 323.

³ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

of the Pacific Coast of Canada and Alaska. Let us examine one or two.

The Tsimshians are a tribe reckoning kinship through the mother. One of their clans is that of the Bear; and this is the legend of the clan: "An Indian went mountain-goat hunting. When he had reached a remote mountain-range, he met a black bear, who took him to his home, taught him how to catch salmon, and how to build canoes. For two years the man stayed with the bear; then he returned to his own village. The people were afraid of him *because he looked just like a bear*. One man, however, caught him and took him home. *He could not speak, and could not eat anything but raw food*. Then they rubbed him with magic herbs, and gradually *he was retransformed into the shape of a man*. After this, whenever he was in want, he called his friend the bear, who came to assist him. In winter, when the rivers were frozen, he alone was able to catch salmon. He built a house, and painted the bear on the house-front. His sister made a dancing-blanket, the design of which represented a bear. Therefore the descendants of his sisters use the bear for their crest."¹ Read literally, this is an example of what I may call the manitou-totems; and indeed Dr. Boas expressly brings it forward as such. But you will probably be of opinion that the expressions lead to the inference that at one time the totem stood in a closer relation to the clan; in a word, that the bear was once believed to be the ancestor of the clan. The suspicion is strengthened when we find Dr. Boas writing of the North-western tribes in general: "There exists, however, another class of traditions, according to which the crests or emblems of the clan are . . . brought down by the ancestor of the clan from heaven, or from the underworld or out of the ocean, wherever he may have derived his origin. This is the case with the Sisîntlaë, whose

¹ *Ibid., loc cit.* This is not an uncommon ætiological myth. Another example is given by Mr. Boyle, *Archæological Report, Ontario*, 1898, p. 165.

emblem is the sun. Here also belong the numerous tales of ancestors who came down from heaven, took off their masks, and became men, for in all these cases the mask has remained the crest of the clan."¹

If I rightly understand Dr. Boas' account of these tribes, however, this statement is hardly strong enough. In the first place, the word *Sisíntlaē* means "children of the sun," and the sun himself is explicitly said to have come down to earth and become the father of the clan.² Next, some clans appear to dispense with the apparatus of the mask, that of the G.ig.ílqam of the Nimkish, for instance, who believe themselves to be descendants of the thunder-bird (a mythical being, common to the tradition of many American tribes) and paint its figure upon their house-front.³ Lastly, even when the apparatus of the mask is retained, it is doubtless no more than a modern and rationalistic expression of the old, deep-seated belief in transformation. So that we have clear evidence of the descent at all events of some of the clans from non-human ancestors, as set forth in the words I have already quoted from Dr. Frazer.

On the other hand, there are cases where the story of the acquisition of the crest, though betraying a certain "analogy," as Dr. Boas says, "to the acquisition of the manitou," is clearly to be distinguished from it. Of such is the story of the chief of a clan, who went hunting and saw a fabulous bird, supposed to be similar to a crane, and heard its cry. It was larger than a man. He hid, and the bird tried to find him. On discovering him at one side of a

¹ *U. S. Nat. Mus. Rep.*, 1895, p. 337.

² *Ibid.*, p. 333. Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 166.

³ *Nat. Mus. Rep.*, p. 375. The omission to mention the mask may, however, be accidental. Another clan of another tribe claim descent from a thunder-bird of which it is expressly recorded that he "took off his bird-mask and became a man" (p. 418). But in any case the mask is modern. Originally there was none; for in savage belief personal identity does not depend upon form, and the power of transformation is a very extended one.

cedar-tree, the bird tried to peck him, but missed him, because he jumped to the other side of the tree. The bird failed to kill him, and when he got home "he carved the crane out of yellow cedar, and now it is the carving of his clan." The clan is called by a name signifying "going through,"¹ which is quite different from that of the bird. All that is here recorded is a successful evasion of an attack by a supernatural being. But there is probably something more in the story. What is hinted at, and what, if we had the tale in a perfect form, we should perhaps find, is that the man conquered and killed the bird. Among these curious peoples "names and all the privileges connected with them," like the ancient priesthood of Aricia, "may be obtained by killing the owner of the name, either in war or by murder. The slayer has then the right to put his own successor in the place of his killed enemy." Now the crest is a very special privilege; and although the name of this clan does not now correspond with the crest, it belongs to a class called by Dr. Boas "names of honour," which "there is a decided tendency to substitute for" older names.² It may be, therefore, that the present name of the clan has quite recently succeeded to that of the mythical bird.

Again, there are instances of a clan bearing the name of one animal and the emblem of another. "The crest," says Dr. Boas, "is used for ornamenting objects belonging to a member of the clan; they [that is to say, the crests] are carved on columns intended to perpetuate the memory of a deceased relative, painted on the house-front, or carved on a column which is placed in front of the house, and are also shown as masks in festivals of the clan. It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the pure crest and figures, or masks illustrating certain incidents in the legendary history of the clan." As an example, he gives

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 330.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 333.

a headdress of the bear clan of the Nîsqá. Whether it is the only headdress he does not state distinctly, but I infer that it is. It represents the owl surrounded by small human heads, called "claw-men," probably because each head rests on a sort of claw. The legend is that a chief had a son who by constant crying irritated his father, until he drove the boy out of the house, saying: "The white owl shall fetch you." With the boy his sister went out; and the owl did fetch not him, but her, and had a son by her. When her son grew up she sent him home to her mother, telling him "to carve a headdress in the shape of an owl for use in his dance, and to sing" a song which his father, the owl, made for him. The owl and the woman then disappeared.¹ What may be the explanation of the discrepancy between name and emblem here I do not know. A conjecture is of very little value; but it may conceivably have originated from the coalescence of two clans, the bear and the owl, of which the latter traced its descent from an owl.

But even if we were to establish the original position of the totem as ancestor, the problems offered by these interesting tribes would be very far from solved. The manitou-idea dominates not merely the conception of the totem, or crest, but the entire social life of the tribes. Some peoples eat their totem-animal as a solemn religious act: nobody thus eats his manitou. Consequently the sacrificial meal is wanting; and this, I need not remind you, is a part of the totem-superstition in its most complete form, on which great stress has been laid in anthropological speculation. More important still in this connection is the position of the secret societies, which have attained a growth exceeding anything known elsewhere. Indeed, the societies can hardly be called secret. They include women, and even children, as well as men. Their sessions are held throughout the winter, and in public; and from

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

the moment they begin the entire social organisation is changed. "Instead of being grouped in clans, the Indians are now grouped according to the spirits which have initiated them. All those who are protected by" one spirit "form one group; those who stand under" another spirit "form another group," and so on; "and in these groups divisions are made according to the ceremonies or dances bestowed upon the person. . . . During this period the place of the clans is taken by a number of societies, namely: the groups of all those individuals upon whom the same, or almost the same, power or secret has been bestowed by one of the spirits."¹ This astonishing development must have results on the social life of the people which would be still more remarkable, were it not that the dances and the offices connected with them are still to a large extent hereditary or acquired by marriage. Hence the clan system, though greatly disturbed and dislocated, is not in effect altogether set aside. Only certain persons have a right to be initiated in each society. The initiations are not performed by the other members assembled in meeting, as is the case with really secret societies. The candidate goes alone into the woods, remaining there for a certain period, during which any one who finds him may kill him if he can, and thereupon may take his place. While the candidate is absent, he is initiated by the spirit. And "the object of the whole winter ceremonial is, first, to bring back the youth who is supposed to stay with the supernatural being who is the protector of his society, and then, when he has returned in a state of ecstasy, to exorcise the spirit which possesses him and to restore him from his holy madness. These objects are attained by songs and by dances."² The proceeding is, in fact, an adaptation of the acquisition of the manitou by the Indians of the prairies.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

² *Ibid.*, p. 431.

Postponing for awhile our consideration of these practices, let us turn to the Arunta of Central Australia as depicted by Professor Baldwin Spencer and Mr. Gillen. Striking differences at once reveal themselves in the mode of regarding the totem. The totem of British Columbia is derived from a single ancestor. Its origin, whether we accept the manitou-theory or not, is attributed to an individual. The Arunta totems, on the contrary, are none of them believed to be individual in origin. The notions held by the tribe as to birth preclude this. The theory of paternity—what we call birth in the ordinary course of nature—is unknown. Some years ago I ventured to suggest that certain archaic beliefs and practices found almost all over the world were consistent only with, and must have arisen from, imperfect recognition of fatherhood. I hardly expected, however, that a people would be found still existing in that hypothetical condition of ignorance. Yet, if we may trust the evidence before us, it is precisely the condition of the Arunta. They hold the cause of birth to be simply the desire of some Arunta of earlier days to be reincarnated. The doctrine has thus been summarised by Dr. Frazer: “They suppose that in certain far-off times, to which they give the name of ‘Alcheringa,’ their ancestors roamed about in bands, each band consisting of members of the same totem-group. Where they died their spirits went into the ground and formed, as it were, spiritual storehouses, the external mark of which is some natural feature, generally a stone or a tree. Such spots are all over the country, and the ancestral spirits who haunt them are ever waiting for a favourable opportunity to be born again into the world. When one of them sees his chance he pounces out on a passing girl or woman and enters into her. Then she conceives, and in due time gives birth to a child, who is firmly believed to be a reincarnation of the spirit that darted into the mother from the rock or tree.” And he adds, “This is the first case on record of a tribe who believe in immaculate conception as

the sole cause of the birth of every human being who comes into the world.”¹

Let me digress here for a moment to call your attention to a passage taken from a very different work. “The Erewhonians” it runs, “believe in pre-existence; and not only this . . . , but they believe that it is of their own free act and deed in a previous state that they come to be born into this world at all. They hold that the unborn are perpetually plaguing and tormenting the married of both sexes, fluttering about them incessantly, and giving them no peace of mind or body until they have consented to take them under their protection.”² I am not quoting now from an anthropological work, but from a very clever and amusing satire on English religion and social arrangements, published eight-and-twenty years ago by Mr. Samuel Butler. The author located the imaginary people whose customs he describes in the undiscovered interior lands of a British colony; and it would require very little straining of his words to suppose that the lands now found to be occupied by the Arunta were comprised in the district he had in mind.

We will leave our friends who are so positive that all (or *nearly* all) *märchen* came from India, or that the perplexing civilisations of America were derived from Asia, to reckon up the resemblances here, and to settle at their leisure whether the Arunta philosophy of birth is to be traced to Erewhon, or the Erewhonian philosophy to the Arunta. Meanwhile, we may return to the wandering bands from whom the Arunta of the present day derive their totems. I want you first to note that they are bands, and not single individuals,³ and next

¹ J. G. Frazer, “The Origin of Totemism,” *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1899, p. 649. But it looks as though they “had their suspicions.” Spencer and Gillen, p. 265.

² *Erewhon, or Over the Range*, by Samuel Butler, 5th Edition, 1873, p. 149.

³ The Evening Star totem is an exception to this; but there seems to be only one representative of it at a time. Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 565.

that they are believed to be the same persons as those now living, but in a previous incarnation. There is thus no tracing back to a single ancestor, and no possibility of what I have called a manitou-totem. Moreover, these bands are expressly believed to have originated from the animals and plants after which they are called. "In the Alcheringa," we are told, "lived ancestors who, in the native mind, are so intimately associated with the animals or plants the name of which they bear that an Alcheringa man of, say, the kangaroo-totem may sometimes be spoken of either as a man-kangaroo or as a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated."¹ Here we are taken back to Dr. Frazer's generalisation whence we started. The mental confusion referred to is common to savages; it perpetually recurs in savage tales, not less among the Kwakiutl than among the Arunta. We may reasonably suspect that Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's volume does not contain all the folklore of the Arunta. If not, we may be sure there are other tales betraying the same confusion.²

So far, therefore, as the Arunta are concerned, and putting out of sight the qualification implied in the belief that the descendants to-day are themselves the ancestors in a new incarnation, Dr. Frazer's generalisation is not contravened, while it would seem as though there is less deviation from it among the tribes of British Columbia than might be inferred from Dr. Boas' account. Returning to them at this point, it must not be forgotten that the organisation, the ceremonies, and the tales of the peoples of the north-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119. See also pp. 121, 127, 424, 428, 437, 438, 440, 441.

² It extends, as elsewhere, to other existences than animals and plants, for example, to the heavenly bodies. The sun, among both the Arunta and the Kwakiutl, is depicted as human, and is the totem of a clan. Among the Arunta, however, the sun is female. Indeed, there seems to have been three women all called *Ochirka*, sun. Two of them dwelt in the country of the bandicoot people, the third ascends the sky during the day, but goes back at night to the bandicoot country. *Ibid.*, p. 561.

west coast of America are the result of many different influences which have met and crossed in that interesting region. The custom of acquiring a transfer of name and privileges by slaughtering their previous owner points to the more or less violent breaking-up of an older organisation in which great value was attached to clan-membership. It is obvious that where the clan-system is powerful such a custom would not be tolerated, and that in any society where it once got a footing it would prove a strong disintegrating force. That it has done so among these north-western tribes is evidently Dr. Boas' opinion. "In this manner," he says, "names and customs have often spread from tribe to tribe."¹ Furthermore, he brings evidence to prove "that the present system of tribes and clans is of recent growth, and has undergone considerable changes," some of which I may add are still in progress.² Not less important is it that the so-called secret societies are of novel introduction. If amid all these movements confusion had not been generated there would have been cause for wonder. Nor can we be by any means sure that the manitou-idea was always at the basis of the belief and practice of the tribes, closely as it now seems to underlie their legends and institutions, or even that any form of totemism was known to some of the tribes until a comparatively recent period. My own impression decidedly is that, whether or no totemism was anciently a part of the tribal organisation, the manitou-conception is of modern date. It is part of the individualism which is tending, not among these tribes only, to obscure the older communistic traditions. I will not say that it is useless to examine the beliefs and institutions of the British Columbian peoples, with the hope of arriving at any conclusions on the origin or early form of totemism. But I greatly doubt that any trustworthy con-

¹ *Nat. Mus. Rep.*, p. 335.

² *Ibid.*, p. 333

clusions can be derived from the ideas and practices now dominant.

The side of totemism on which the discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have broken most seriously into our previous conceptions is that of social organisation. Hitherto all the totem-clans known to science had an invariable rule against marriage between men and women who belonged to the same clan and bore the same totem. This rule the Arunta totally disregard. Their marriage-regulations are founded upon a different principle. Formerly, indeed, if we may trust their traditions of the Alcheringa, the Arunta did observe the clan-system. But then they observed it in topsy-turvy fashion, for the practice was, they say, for the men and women of the *same* clan to intermarry.¹ Now, however "primitive" some of the institutions of the Arunta may seem, and may indeed be, others have travelled a long way from any state capable of being so described. Progress is hardly ever, if ever, made equally on all lines. It is one of the most ordinary phenomena to find a people relatively advanced in one direction and relatively backward in another. The Arunta, I venture to think, are an instance of unequal progress. Students who hold that the traditions of the Alcheringa—that mythical time of the early ancestors of the tribes—enclose tangible facts, must also hold that the same traditions are evidence of progress. For my own part, I am slow to affirm that many grains of fact (in the sense of actual occurrences) can be extracted from such ore. Some can, of course; but the ore requires a deal of milling and washing to separate them. Still, the traditions are undeniable witness to the belief of the Arunta in their own progress. How else are we to interpret the stories of what I may term the evolution of men and women out of the rudimentary beings whom they call *Inapertwa*, the introduction of various rites, and the establishment of the

¹ Spencer and Gillen, pp. 393, 418, 419.

present organisation? And the Arunta belief may at least count for something as evidence of progress. What that evidence amounts to, having pointed it out, I am content for others to value. We shall be on surer ground if we turn to the organisation and institutions of the tribes.

Most of the Australian communities whose organisation is known have been found divided into two exogamous groups. Men, that is, are not allowed to take their wives from the group into which they themselves were born, but from the complementary group. Mr. Howitt, than whom there is no more competent living authority, considers that these two groups were originally totem-clans, or, as he would say, totem-hordes. The right of marriage is still further restricted by an ingenious system of classification, which has the effect, where it is most fully developed, of completely preventing the intermarriage of near kin. I will not try now to explain this system (known as the class-system), but I may say that it offers the most complicated puzzle that savage institutions have ever offered to civilised inquirers; and that is saying a great deal. In what appears to be the oldest form of the organisation, it is accompanied by the reckoning of kinship and descent through the mother only—what we call Mother-right. Moreover, there is reason to believe that individual marriage was formerly unknown: groups of men and women possessed and exercised conjugal rights in common. Unmistakable relics of this condition still exist; but gradually a double transformation has taken place in many of the tribes. Group-marriage has been giving way to individual marriage; and Mother-right has yielded to Father-right, or Agnation, the tracing of descent through the father only. What may be the object of the change from mother-right to father-right, and whether that object was one consciously pursued, are questions I cannot now discuss. One *effect*, however, of the change is to localise the group or clan which adopts father-right, for it

binds together in a common tie the fighting and hunting force of any community in a manner and to an extent generally unknown where mother-right prevails. A man as a rule takes his wife with him; he does not go to live with her. In mother-right this tends to scatter the kin; in father-right it tends to consolidate the kin with the local group. This tendency, it will be easily understood, contributes in no small measure to strengthen the organisation of the local group in its struggle for life. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that most aggressive and progressive communities have, at one stage in their career, been organised on the basis of agnation.

A few years ago Mr. Howitt mapped out these changes among the Australian tribes according to geographical areas as far as he was then able to trace them; and his investigations led to significant results. He found that: "The most backward-standing types of social organisation, having descent through the mother and an archaic communal marriage, exist in the dry and desert country; the more developed Kamilaroi type, having descent through the mother, but a general absence of the Pirauru marriage practice [a relic of communal or group-marriage] is found in the better watered tracts which are the sources of all the great rivers of East Australia; while the most developed types, having individual marriage, and in which in almost all cases descent is counted through the father, are found along the coasts where there is the most plentiful supply of water and most food. In fact, it is thus suggested that the social advance of the Australian aborigines has been connected with, if not mainly due to a more plentiful supply of food in better watered districts."¹

To the list of tribes given by Mr. Howitt must now be added the Arunta. The districts inhabited by the Arunta and their allied tribes, though dry, are rather to be

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii., p. 33.

described as steppe-country than desert.¹ We should, therefore, be prepared to find, if Mr. Howitt's conclusions be correct, that their social arrangements would not belong to quite the most archaic type. As we shall see in a moment, they turn out to be even more advanced than we might expect. But Mr. Howitt goes on to observe: "Also it must be borne in mind that the origin of individual marriage, the change of the line of descent, and the final decay of the old class organisation, are all parts of the same process of social development, and that not one cause only has been at work but a number of causes which have worked together towards that ultimate result which can be seen in the most advanced communities."

In what particulars then has the Arunta organisation advanced? First of all, it has advanced to individual marriage; and that it has advanced to individual marriage from group-marriage the tables of kinship and certain of the tribal ceremonies contain abundant evidence, with which I need not trouble you. Secondly, descent is traced in the male line. This is a startling feature of the organisation of a people which has no proper knowledge of paternity. It should be explained, however, that it only means that a child belongs to the same exogamous moiety of his tribe as the husband of his mother. Assuming the account we have of the beliefs of the Arunta to be correct as far as it goes, the tracing of descent in the male line for the purpose of determining the exogamous group to which a child shall belong involves, and can involve, no real recognition of blood. Yet the tables of kinship show that *some* relation is held to subsist between father and child. Exactly what that relation is conceived to be we are not in a position

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Cf. *Horn Expedition Report*, part iv., p. 6. The Warramunga are mentioned by Howitt, but his information about them was meagre. Are they not an offshoot of the Urabunna? The name seems related, and so also do several words in the table of kinship. Some of the class-names are unquestionably identical.

at the present moment to say. It is noteworthy that an Arunta man in speaking of his child employs a different term from that employed by a woman in speaking of her child. This is by no means an isolated phenomenon in communities in a similar stage of organisation, and points to an earlier condition of mother-right. A careful philological and sociological comparison of the terms of relationship throughout the Australian continent is one of our most urgent needs.

In a community so small as an Australian tribe usually is, severe limitations are obviously imposed on the choice of a bride by the division into two exogamous groups and the further division into mutual connubial classes. But I am sure I shall not call in vain upon you to pity the sorrows of the Australian youth, when I remind you that his choice was usually more limited still. For to each of the two exogamous groups was assigned a number of totems, and it by no means followed that marriage was permitted into *any* of the totem-clans composing the opposite exogamous group. On the contrary, it was often limited to one or two. The consequence would be that an eligible bride was uncommonly scarce, even when the aspirant had a sister or a cousin or an aunt ready to be bartered in exchange. To a disconsolate bachelor the relaxation or the abolition of the limitation imposed by the totem might be a measure of relief, none the less welcome though it enfranchised a troop of competitors also.

If the evidences of progress I have enumerated—the legends of the Alcheringa, and the traces of group-marriage and mother-right—be of any value, they enable us to see that the present disregard of the totem in marriage may be a stage in the sloughing of totemism altogether. The only object now fulfilled by the totem-organisation among the Arunta is the performance at intervals of the Intichiuma and Engwura ceremonies. The former are of a magical character, and certainly wear an archaic appearance. Thus much may safely be said, without pronouncing an opinion

on Dr. Frazer's contention that we have in these ceremonies¹ a clue to the original purpose of totemism, namely, to secure for the community, by means of magic, a plentiful supply of necessities and immunity from the perils to which man is exposed in his struggle with nature. At all events, they are periodical ceremonies having for their object the increase of the totem-animal or plant. "Every local totemic group has its own Intichiuma ceremony," when, save by special invitation, no one else is allowed to be present. Nor in any case can the invitation be extended beyond the tribal totem-group or beyond that moiety of the tribe to which the great majority of the members of the local group belong.² Not less important are the Engwura ceremonies. They are part of the rites of initiation into manhood. But here an interesting difference reveals itself. The Engwura are not owned by the local totemic group. "Each totem," we are told, "has its own ceremonies, and each of the 'ceremonies' may be regarded as the property of some special individual who has received it by right of inheritance from its previous owner, such as a father or an elder brother," or who in some cases may have received it direct from the Iruntarinia, or spirits. So among the Kwakiutl the claim to initiation, the dances, the songs, the clan- and family-traditions, and other privileges, are ordinarily obtained through inheritance. Tartarin and his friends were not so jealous of their own songs as a Kwakiutl of these properties. The jealousy of the Arunta is hardly less obvious; for the right of anyone outside the totem to be present at an Engwura ceremony is dependent on the will of the owner, though the invitations are more freely given than to the Intichiuma.³

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1899, p. 835 *seqq.*

² Spencer and Gillen, pp. 167, 169.

³ Boas, *op. cit. passim*; *Mythology of the Bella Coola*, p. 123; Spencer and Gillen, pp. 278, 280. Speaking generally, "the old men will not reveal tribal secrets to the young men unless they show themselves worthy of receiving such knowledge." *Ibid.*, p. 281.

It will be seen that these two groups of ceremonies, the Intichiuma and the Engwura are of great importance in the life of the tribe. Upon the former depends the supply of food and other necessities. The latter are the final rites in the admission of youths to manhood. Thus, on the one hand, their continuance is safeguarded; on the other hand, they have a conservative influence: totemism cannot die out while they continue to be performed. On the side of organisation, however, as distinguished from the ceremonial side, the totem-clan is in decay. Nay, it has already ceased to be a clan. The tie of blood is no longer recognised; and where the tie of blood is destroyed, there is no clan in the proper sense of the word. Mr. Howitt's inquiries tend to show that the change in the line of descent, from reckoning exclusively through the mother to reckoning exclusively through the father (which is exactly what has happened among the Arunta) is accompanied by "a profound alteration in the social arrangements," and that the decay and even the disappearance (as among the Chipara of southern Queensland) of the totem-clans are part and parcel of the changes that take place.¹ The course of development in other tribes thus leads us to anticipate what is taking place among the Arunta. But at present the organisation survives as a totem-group, having as its sole bond of union the performance of the ceremonies.² On the whole, though the conjecture may be a bold one, it would not surprise me if it should turn out that the organisation is undergoing a slow transformation into something more like the so-called secret societies of the British Columbian tribes.

If this view be correct, then vanishes the difficulty that here is a totemistic people to whom the rule of exogamy does not apply; for it is only a difficulty if we insist on

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii., pp. 40, 47 *seqq.*

² Spencer and Gillen, pp. 34, 557.

regarding the Arunta as a people wholly "primitive." The rule remains true that where totemism is in full force, "persons of the same totem may not marry or have sexual intercourse with one another."¹ The disregard of the rule would be an inevitable stage in the decline of the institution.

It may, however, be objected that there is no trace of totemic exogamy among the Arunta; whatever traces there may be of any totemic regulation of marriage point in an opposite direction. These traces consist of little more than frequent references in the legends to men and women of the same totem living in local groups together, whence it is inferred to have been quite normal for a man to have a wife of the same totem as himself. I am not sure that a complete and satisfactory answer can be given to the objection. But the character of the legends must be taken into consideration. I have already referred to them, not as narratives of actual events, but as possible witnesses to the bare fact of progress. They seem in almost all cases expressly framed to account for the present condition of something which to the native mind requires explanation. In other words, they are mainly ætiological. Now, a restriction or taboo of any kind is always a subject requiring explanation. Consequently, the present marriage-restrictions would be felt to require a legend to account for them, and they *are* accounted for by a legend. The absence of restrictions, on the other hand, requires no explanation. Restrictions, again, which have been abolished or have passed silently away no longer need to be accounted for. Accordingly they are forgotten, and any explanation of them once extant is forgotten also. Hence we are not likely to find references to prohibitions of marriage within the totem-group, or to practices indicating the existence of such prohibitions. If, then, we are asked why the converse

¹ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 58.

case of conjugal relations within the group continues to be prominent in the legends, the answer must be that it is not a veritable memory of what actually took place, but a reflection of the condition of things to which there is a general tendency in the present day, namely, the tendency for the totem-group to coincide with the local group. In the legends this tendency would be emphasised. Where it exists, that is, where the local group consists largely or chiefly of the members of one totem-group, and there is no prohibition against conjugal relations within the totem-group, there conjugal relations within the totem-group will become frequent in proportion to the comparative local strength of the totem-group, unless they be checked by any other restriction. They are now held in check to some extent by the class-regulations. But in the times of which the legends speak there were no class-regulations, for the institution of of these regulations is among the subjects to be explained by the legends themselves.

I am afraid I have committed the unpardonable sin of dulness. It is an easily-besetting sin to one who pries into savage thought. Yet savage thought is the seed-plot of civilised literature and of much of civilised philosophy and civilised religion. To the ordinary man or woman of our time and country, its details are often strange and repulsive; more usually they are, from their remoteness, utterly devoid of interest. Such a person feels like one I knew who was taken to hear a lecture on spiders. "What are spiders to me?" he asked; "I am willing to let them alone, if they will only let me alone." Totemism has not been allowed to let us alone. Until lately it has occupied a large place in the speculations of anthropologists. Now, at a time when it has been a little discredited, I have thought it might be useful to pause and ask whether *all* the recent discoveries have left it in evil case, whether some of the interpretations placed on facts are quite justified, whether, in fine, the fabric is really as

much battered as we have been led to fear. If to some of you much of what I have said be trite as well as dull, I would plead that it is labour not always lost to restate the obvious; for the obvious is in danger of being overlooked, because it is obvious. The points I have chosen to touch were not chosen because they were the easiest to deal with, but because they were vital to the definition of the totem as we have understood it. I have not tried to discuss the question whether totemism is as large a factor in social and religious evolution as many have been inclined to think.¹ All I have tried to show is that we need not at present revise our conception of it in the two material points of exogamy and the relation of the totem to the clan, in consequence of anything lately published concerning the tribes of which I have been speaking. But of course we must never forget that no theory of totemism is other than provisional. Totemism itself is but a name for a working hypothesis which may at any time have to be revised or abandoned.

When I began I pointed out that in the natural growth of science it was inevitable that we should shift our base of operations from European tradition to savage tradition. Let me urge further that among savage peoples the Australian aborigines and the Indian tribes of the North-West Coast of America are entitled on national grounds to more than superficial attention. They dwell, the latter chiefly, the former wholly, within the limits of our own Empire. They are our own fellow subjects. / We are deeply interested in their moral and material condition; we are largely responsible for their welfare. To understand their arts and institutions, their traditions and ideas, is the first requisite for their proper government. Over

¹ On this point the masterly articles of M. Marillier in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vols. xxxvi. and xxxvii., and Dr. Jevons' reply in *Folk-Lore*, vol. x., p. 369, should be consulted. The controversy cannot yet be considered closed.

and above that is our duty to provide for the preservation of the memory, and not merely of the memory of perishing races under our sway, and of stages of culture in process of transformation or total disappearance within our borders, but also of as full a record as may be of what they were and what they signified in the history of the world. To do so will add to our imperial glory; and we are just now very jealous of that. Moreover, it will assist us to interpret our own past, and the prehistoric monuments in our own islands. I need not remind this Society of the traces of animal-worship lingering here and there in our midst. They were discussed some years ago by Mr. Gomme and Mr. Lang, when the question was debated whether totemism was a stage of our own development. They have been lately considered in the same connection by Mr. N. W. Thomas, likewise a member of the Society, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. To take another instance, the famous barrow of Willy Howe in Yorkshire, and other barrows where it was clear that no human remains had ever been interred, were long an insoluble riddle to archæologists. And so they would have been still, but for Dr. Frazer's investigations into savage rites of burial and theories of the soul, and Mr. Geo. Coffey's ingenious and satisfactory application of the results of these investigations to the barrows of the Bronze Age. For the human mind everywhere travels in the same direction and causes men to act in analogous ways. Hence, when we are inquiring into matters as remote from our immediate surroundings as the totemism of the Arunta, or the mock-funerals of Vancouver Island, it may well be that we are unconsciously throwing a searchlight on the dark places of our own antiquity.

I could say more. I could claim for the study of the traditions of savage races a still higher function in the economy of thought. It is needless. "The original of ancient customs," Dr. Johnson declared, "is commonly

unknown ; for the practice often continues when the cause has ceased ; and concerning superstitious ceremonies it is vain to conjecture ; for what reason did not dictate, reason cannot explain." ¹ These words were written a hundred and forty years ago. No writer of repute—nay, not the most infallible of journalists—would venture to write them to-day, when science is constantly revealing the source of ancient customs, and when by reason we are slowly, and it may be not without vain conjectures by the way, yet surely, being led to the true significance of many a superstitious ceremony, wild song and uncouth tale. Painfully, indeed, and step by step we are exploring the caverns whence, in the myths of that strange people in the west, mankind emerged through much tribulation into this loftier, happier, and more spacious world ; and we are bringing back to light the lowly and long-forgotten beginnings of the race. The coming century has doubtless many surprises in store for us and our children. It will be no surprise for students of anthropology if the progress of discovery enable us by-and-bye to reconstitute the history of humanity to an extent of which Dr. Johnson and all the generations of learned men in the past never so much as dreamed.

¹ *Rasselas*, chap. 48.

REVIEWS.

THE CULT OF OTHIN: AN ESSAY IN THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF THE NORTH. By H. M. CHADWICK, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. London: Clay. 1899.

It is perhaps in the direction of monographs such as the present that the first series of attacks upon the complicated questions of Northern mythology can best be delivered. Mr. Chadwick has given full and thoughtful consideration to his subject in this handy, neatly printed, but unindexed little book.

Starting with a good general acquaintance with the texts and with what has been written upon them of real value, from Grimm to Petersen and Bugge, he has arrived at the following conclusions: "(1) The cult of Othin was in all probability known in the North at the beginning of the sixth century; there is no reason for supposing that it was then new. (2) The cult does not seem to have been practised by the Swedes in the first half-century of the present era. (3) If the adoption of cremation was due to the cult of Othin, the cult can hardly have been introduced into Sweden later than the end of the first century." Further, he (like Vigfusson) takes the name *Wōden* to be akin to Lat. *uātes*, O. Ir. *faith*, and would explain the words *wōðanaz, *wōðenaz, as participial and probably meaning "inspired." As to the interpretation of *Hávamál* in the famous passage—

I know that I hung on the gallowstree or Wodenstree,
Nine whole nights;
Wounded with the spear and offered to Woden,
Self to myself,
With loaf they stayed me not, nor with the horn,
* * *
I peered down, I caught up runes,
* * *
Whooping I caught them. I fell back thence—
* * *

Mr. Chadwick considers that the explanations given by Dr. Bugge and his follower, Dr. Golther, are not decisive of their theory that

the myth here alluded to has a Christian origin. He points out that there is no certain reference¹ in the passages that deal with the World Tree to its having served as Woden's gallows. But such a connection is necessary to Dr. Bugge's hypothesis. He shows further that in the Upsala Evergreen Tree as described by Adam of Bremen (or his scholiast) standing by the Sacrificial Spring, and the Stettin oak and spring, and others known to us among Lithuanians and Prussians, we have exact parallels to Mim's tree and the Weirds' Burn. He suggests very ingeniously that from the "community-tree," an index of the prosperity of the set of people it belonged to (a cult and belief of which there are plenty of traces even in the modern folktales that Grimm collected), the development of the "world-tree" idea was easy; for just as the Upsala tree, at first a local tree, became the national tree when the Swedish confederacy arose, so when Walhall began to be conceived of (in the ninth century) as a great all-embracing heaven, the tree then became a world-tree, and its fate bound up with the fate of the whole universe visible and invisible. I think it possible we have in the *sacer lucus, qui proximus est templo* of Adam of Bremen a transitional state, when each of the trees in the grove near the temple stood for its own clan or small tribe, and was honoured and venerated precisely as the local tribe-tree (of which it was no doubt a seedling) had been, though the Upsala big tree had now been chosen to be the "national" or "confederal tree" for the whole folk of the Swedes. Mr. Chadwick is inclined to accept Dr. Bugge's identification of the story of Woden's death in Ynglinga (10) with the above passage in Háva-mál, but not his inferences from this identification. He regards it as a myth arising out of "the desire to explain the ritual of sacrifice," and he rejects any connection between the hanging story in Gautrec's Saga and this myth.

In discussing the Starcad story he brings out its importance better than any one else has yet done. He shows how Woden's gifts explain the god's character and attributes—they are length of days (*cf.* Án. Ynglinga saga, 29), choice weapons, clothes, and riches (*cf.* Hyndla's lay)—

He granteth and giveth gold to his servants,
He gave Heremód helm and mailcoat,
And to Sigmund a sword to take—

¹ That in Sonatorrec rests on an emendation.

victory in battle, skill in song and in public speaking, and fair winds to war ships.

He giveth his sons victory, and his followers money,
Skill of speech to his children, and good wit to men,
Fair breeze to captains, and song to poets,
Prowess *or* luck in love he gives to many a champion.

Whereas Thor *or* Thunder is the god who gives progeny, land, memory, bodily luck and safety, and Frey is especially the god of fertility. Now Woden's foster-son Starcad was hated by Thunder, who largely limited his powers of mischief, and Starcad loathed Frey and his genial worship. Starcad (who has parallels in Russian legend) has usually, says our author, "been regarded as the typical Northern warrior of old time. This is true; but in reality he is far more. He is also the chief of the legendary Northern poets. If I am not mistaken, he was regarded in early times as the typical worshipper of Othin."

In considering the cult of Niord Mr. Chadwick agrees with Drs. Much and Sarrazin that the "isle in the ocean," where Tacitus says some tribes worshipped Nerthus, was Seeland. As this god's son was worshipped at Upsala, there is apparently a filial connection implied between some southern sanctuary, whether it be Hledra [Leire] in Seeland or not, and the great sactuary at Upsala; but it is certain that Woden's cult later became the favourite worship of Southern Scandinavia. Golther's ingenious suggestion that the war between Wanæs and Anses is a reminiscence of the struggle between the two cults and their respective votaries is rightly, I think, accepted by our author. The preface to "*Heimskringla*" contains merely Are's conclusions drawn from poems with which he was acquainted, especially those curious genealogic compositions that (like their Celtic counterparts) formed valued documents attesting descent and rights drawn from descent, though in the case of the Earl of Orkney and of Harold Fairhair the artificial nature of the pedigree is exceedingly obvious to the modern student, as Vigfússon long ago pointed out. However, Are has given us himself the key to the original difference between the cults that supposed the dead to live a spirit-life in the "howe" or "barrow," and those that supposed them to live in another place—*i.e.*, between the barrow

burial of the worshippers of Frey and the cremation that came in comparatively late in the age of bronze. Are's Age of Barrows associated with Frey is put by him after the cremation times, but that is because a second Barrow Age really did in Scandinavia follow the Cremation Age. The earlier Barrow Age goes back in one form or another to the "very earliest times;" but it was probably associated in its earlier form with Thunder, for, at least in Landnámabók, we find Thor-worshippers believing that they "died into hills" and places of burial. Sir Henry Howorth has endeavoured to trace the two waves of religious thought that brought into Europe the different notions of which burial by burning and burial in howes, *i.e.* ghost-houses, are the indices, one belief coming from the south and being African, the other from the East and probably Indo-Iranian. The notion of the spirit-journey (apparently broadly the same as the Polynesian belief) and the curious metempsychosis theories (lately so ably studied by Mr. Nutt) have again to be distinguished from, or properly associated with, the Ghost House and Cremation customs. That cremation is associated with the Woden-cult in Scandinavia rests upon evidence that is as yet incomplete, but not wholly lacking. Woden's weapon being the spear or "casting assegai," and not the stone-ax, the earlier weapon of Thunder, or the sword, the stabbing or slashing bronze or iron weapon associated with Tew, is noteworthy, and helps to give the chronology of his cult. Thiodólfur apparently took the fact of a standing stone or memorial as an evidence of cremation in the case of Agne, Domar, and Wanland.

Mr. Chadwick is perfectly justified in the use he makes of Fornaldar Sögur, though of late recension and compilation they contain much that is very antique; and the evidence of Beowulf's Lay and the parallel traditions registered in Saxo show them to have preserved old material; while the scraps of verse they include, though not all early, yet seem to preserve citations from lost poems of the same type as the Eddic Lays. Thus the Saga of Hrómundr Greip's son has embalmed for us an episode out of the life of Helge the bold, that is only faintly alluded to in the extant Eddic collection.

Mr. Chadwick is right in noting that sacrifices to Frey are of *edible* animals, boar, &c., while those to Woden are of human beings, hounds, and hawks, and later those warlike birds, such as

cocks and peacocks, that were introduced from the South of Europe. The parallel between *Biarca-Mál*—

No dim and lowly race, no low-born dead,
no base souls are Pluto's prey, he weaves
the dooms of the mighty and fills Phlegethon with noble shapes—

and Harbard's Lay—

Woden owns the gentleborn that fall in battle,
But Thor owns the thrall-born—

(with which one may also compare the Celto-Scandic eleventh century *Darrada-liód*), is to the point, and shows Woden as the god of the new Viking aristocracy. The contrast between him and Thor amused the poet whom we have taken leave to call the Western Aristophanes, who burlesqued the swaggering god of the new generation in contrast to the sturdy yeoman deity of the older days.

The "bloodeagle" custom may very possibly have nothing to do with Woden at all, but be an old sacrificial rite proper to an older cult than his. Mr. Chadwick's whole account of the connection of Woden with the "stabbing and hanging" death is excellent and suggestive, and very little material has escaped his research. There are but few slips. It would have been better to have cited Saxo from Holder's edition. Rostarus, p. 8 (Saxo, iii. 79, ix. 304), is obviously Roftrus = *Hróptr*, and this might have been noted. It is well to mark the date 970, when Egil in *Sonatorrec* talks of Ygg's gallows as the world-tree (if Vigfusson's emendation be right, cf. *Grimnismál*)—

Mioc es torfyndr sa-es trua cnegim,
Af al-þjóð Yggjar galga—

and shows us Woden as God of Poetry as well as Lord of Hosts and King of Death.

I was friendly with the Lord of Spears.
And I put my trust in him believing in his plighted peace,
till he broke, the Master of the Wain,
the Judge of Victory, his friendship with me.

Wherefor I worship not Wile's brother
the Prince of the Gods, nor look yearningly on him
yet hath Mim's friend bestowed on me
recompense for wrongs, if I reckon the good [as well as the evil].

The warworn Foe of the Wolf
 hath given me the blameless art,
 Yea the poets' song by which I may turn
 Open foes into wellwishers.

Egil also marks Woden as the Patron of the Gauts, and this association is confirmed by other poets ; and it is along the border between the great lakes that the worshippers of Frey and Woden, Swedes and Gauts, two neighbouring and often hostile confederacies, frequently came into collision in wars of which faint echoes have reached us in *Beowulf's Lay*, in *Ynglinga-tal*, and in the *Fornaldar Sögur*. P. 19, the lines from *Háva-mál* of the corpse-conjuring of Woden ought to read, "so that the man walks and talks with me." There are medieval and classic punishments for kin-killers that probably led to Saxo's remark (viii.) on Iarmeric's hanging of men and wolves together ; and we need not suppose that Woden was the god charged specially with the protection of family ties. The suggestion that the original Walcyries (metamorphosed by the Wicking poets into "fair, weaponed angels of death") were the sacrificial priestesses is ingenious, though the Walcyrior are not represented as gray-haired and linen-clad and bare-footed as the Cimbric sacrificers and sibyls are, and as the "repulsive death-angels" of the oft-cited Ibn Fozlan and of *Beowulf's Lay*. That Woden was the favourite god and eponymous ancestor of the ruling clan of the Cheruskans is clear, and both his titles of Sig-tivi, Sig-gautr, Sig-pror, Sig-faodr, and the name of his son Siggi (Thulor) witness to this fact ; and it is worth remark, because the sudden and splendid rise of the Cheruskans and their gigantic success against, and more than hecatombal sacrifice of, the invading Romans must have made their special god a god of victory in a special sense, a god whose fame and glory would spread wherever the news of the mighty deliverance came. This would give a date, A.D. 9, to the beginning of the expansion in Germany of the cult of Woden, replacing very probably to some extent the cult of Tew, the sword-god, which appears to have been widely spread before. We must not forget the enigmatic story of the enigmatic Heremód the keen, also a hero-son of Woden's, most famous of exiles and wanderers, who left the Scioldung court after slaying his messmates, raised a mighty and lengthy war, and finally disappeared from men's eyes (possibly in dragon shape), being slain by a Wolsung. Rydberg has pointed out his

parallelism with Swipdæg (who indeed may be Heremód under another name) as the eponym of the Dagling, or Dayling, clan. The English genealogies (cited also in Flatejar-bók) gives to Heremód for father Itermon (?) and for grandfather Hræthra, and there need really be no hesitation in acknowledging the identity of the Heremód to whom Woden gave a helm and mailcoat with the Heremód of Beowulf's Lay, of whom it is written—

. . hine mihtig god mægenes wynnum
eafeðum stépte ofer ealle men
forð gefremede—

an obvious allusion to Woden's signal favours to his son, purged of all heathenism in the true Alfredian manner. Heremód is made to have lived earlier than the other great exile, Sigemund, and this agrees with the priority in the Hyndlulíód verse, and seems to point to Heremód's peculiar connection with Woden-worship and the struggling beginnings of this cult which the Cherusicans were to make so notorious and powerful. We do not know Heremód's clan; he first appears to us at the Dane-king's court among the Scíoldungs, his own pedigree running up to Sceaf in the O. E. genealogies. The Heath-bard hero Starcad, Storwer's son, was also Woden's foster-son, and though his hard, tough, old-fashioned ways, contempt for southern civilization, honourable observance of chastity, and giant-like behaviour in general, smack of the old days, he is yet clearly, as Mr. Chadwick shows, a person whose fame can only have added to the glory of the god he served so earnestly, who was ever his patron and protector. Saxo (vi. 187) cites Teutonic knowledge of Starcad's experiences and feats. The explanation on p. 31 of Coifi's spear-throwing is not that of Bæda, who refers it explicitly to the priest wishing to break the *tabu* that forbid (as in the Icelandic Hof kept by Ingimund the old, a man of Gaut blood) the bearing of weapons or war-gear within the sacred *temenos*.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Chadwick will follow this beginning up with monographs on Tew and on Thunder, with a view to getting at fixed points in the developments of religious beliefs and cults in the north of Europe. The connection of Woden and Brage (probably a mere by-name of the Friend of Mim) with song and the amours and other earthly adventures of Woden are worth considering, if only for the curious parallels to other myths they

hold out. Since Grimm died the special subject of Teutonic mythology has not been dealt with by a true master-hand and but rarely by a really ingenious mind (such as Rydberg). Bugge has indeed tried one key most skilfully for all it is worth; but the doctrine of infection is like the doctrine of analogy, that is called in when regular phonetic change fails to account for an extraordinary case. There is plenty of room for earnest and observant students of Mr. Chadwick's type.

F. YORK POWELL.

ASIATIC STUDIES, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL. By SIR ALFRED C. LYALL, K.C.B., D.C.L. First and Second Series. London: John Murray. 1899.

SINCE the first publication of the Asiatic Studies, eighteen years ago, the book has become a classic in its way. Sir Alfred Lyall writes largely of things which he knows, *quorum pars magna fuit*; and to the problems he deals with, brings a lucid and sane intellect, with a power of cautious generalisation which reminds us of Sir Henry Maine. The scholar-soldier and the scholar-administrator seem to be products almost unknown outside the English race; and a man who lives and acts has a great advantage over the student who writes within the four walls of his library. Sir Alfred owes it to his practical training that he has been able to call attention to certain aspects of popular religion which have been unduly neglected, or flatly denied; to the same cause, that he carries his attempt too far. But although he needs the scholar's research as a corrective, he can give him points as to style. These pages are not only free from pedantry and phrase-hunting, but are expressed in language singularly vigorous and strong, and pervaded by an urbane humour which makes them very pleasant to read.

In this feast of fatness many dishes call for no comment here. We shall leave aside the essays which deal with politics and the art of government, with the coming war of religions in Asia, and with other topics of the day. We are now concerned with those

treating of folklore and kindred matters ; and indeed some of Sir Alfred's strictures call for a reply. He has in some places brought a sweeping indictment against the study of folklore, which we believe cannot be substantiated.

We must thank Sir Alfred Lyall for urging the claims of a modified Euhemerism. It is strange but true that some authorities have been inclined to deny the existence of deified men as a part of ancient religions. Exaggeration seems to be the curse of such studies as mythology. Like Mr. Casaubon, most men seem to seek one key to fit all the mythologies. First, everything in heaven and earth is a sun-myth ; again, it is averred to be the dawn ; another seems to think intoxication is the source of all religions. Ten years ago, totems and corn-spirits swept everything before them ; but they have only scotched the enemy, for now Herr Gilbert will have it that all Greek myths at least come from the clouds. Sir Alfred Lyall rises and reminds us that we have forgotten all about deified men ; and though his common sense keeps him from going so far as the Sun and Cloud schools, yet he is undoubtedly too ready to be rationalistic, as we shall show. But his observations on the process of deification in India are of high value. They are not the scholar's deductions ; they describe facts provable and proven. No one can call Nicholson a corn-spirit ; and in India, any person who strikes the imagination as strong or remarkable has a chance of being deified. Such facts as he adduces give strong presumption that many ancient cults rest on a similar deification. Among the Greeks, it is difficult to draw the line between the worship of dead ancestors and the worship of the rulers of Hades. In the ancient votive and sepulchral reliefs the same scheme, the same symbols are used for both. The "heroes" were universally believed by the Greeks to have been men, and they were worshipped by them for their beneficent powers or from fear. We can sometimes trace how step by step the "hero" grows into a god. Æsculapius is a man in Homer ; his cult was long local, and confined to his reputed descendants or those of his tribe ; then, perhaps by the accident of association with the healing spring in Trikka, his fame as a healer became great. The tribe which worshipped him spread over all Greece, and carried the worship with them ; and in the fifth century he is already one of the most famous gods of the Greek world. Down to the latest times one of the commonest

types of votive tablet offered to him is what is technically known as the Death Feast ; and this type is used at the same time for sepulchral purposes. A similar history is that of Amphiaraus, and may therefore be presumed as possible with the gods. We are far from urging it where it cannot be proved ; but we maintain that the deification of men must take its place as one of the sources of religious cults.

We are unable to follow Sir Alfred so confidently in his analysis of Witchcraft, which, as he cynically remarks, is probably practised with less molestation under the British Empire in India than ever before in the history of the world. To distinguish religion and witchcraft by saying that in the one it is hoped to influence nature by worship, in the other by work, is to make an arbitrary distinction. He would appear to see in the witch a first forbear far away of the modern man of science. The witch "stumbles upon a few natural effects out of the common run of things, which he finds himself able to work out by invariable rule of thumb. He thence infers that he has in some wonderful way imbibed extra-natural power. . . . He has hit upon a rudimentary materialism." We do not think the distinction can be established, where fetishism and witchcraft are so often commingled even in comparatively advanced cults. That advanced religion always ends by making war upon witchcraft is true ; but it proves nothing for the beginning. Religion refined makes war on idols, yet nothing is more certain than that most religions used idols once.

But our chief quarrel with Sir Alfred Lyall is in his attitude towards the study of folklore. We do not refer to the substance of his criticisms upon *The Golden Bough*, many of which are just. We think with him that Mr. Frazer carried his theory too far ; and we should not be surprised if Mr. Frazer should modify it not a little in the new edition of his work. But Sir Alfred regards this book, and those of Miss Kingsley and Mr. Jevons, which he also criticises, from a standpoint which shows he has not realised the methods of folklore study. It is the value of the study as a whole he calls in question, not any particular books. Thus, in quoting Miss Kingsley's words, "The study of natural phenomena knocks the bottom out of any man's conceit, if it is done honestly, and not by selecting only those facts which fit in with his preconceived or ingrafted notions," he adds : "true words that should be gravely pondered by all ingenious folklorists." So they have been, we

imagine, by all serious students. Mr. Frazer, in compiling his book on *Totemism*, did not start with theories which he meant to verify ; he collected all the facts he could get, and classified them, and now that strange new facts have cropped up in Australia he hastens to see how they must modify previous theories. Sir Alfred would have done well to take his own warning to heart. He has a pre-conceived or ingrafted belief in rationalistic explanations ; consequently, when he finds wives killed at their husbands' funerals, he says : "The colourable object is that they may accompany him into his next existence ; but a Calabar chief explained to Miss Kingsley that the custom was also a salutary check upon husband-poisoning ; and one cannot doubt that he is right." He is certainly not right if he thinks thus to explain the origin of the custom. If this stood alone, Sir Alfred's rationalism might have some excuse ; but it must be explained in conjunction with other sacrifices at the grave. Is a chief's horse sacrificed as a salutary check upon poisoning ? Are his pots and pans broken over the grave for any such reason ? When a spectator at a Ceylon funeral, within these last few years, saw all the friends of a deceased bhikkhu bring their last tribute, was that seedy old umbrella which sailed through the air to be suspected of husband-poisoning ? Sir Alfred Lyall's remark shows that he does not understand the method of folklore study. Our results are arrived at only after a wide induction, in which allied customs are used to explain each other. Rare is it to find a custom undocked or unchanged ; what we see is a bit here and a bit there, from which we try to piece together the original or complete form. Undoubtedly there is a danger in comparing things from the four ends of the earth. There is such a thing as coincidence, which must be allowed for ; but there is also such a thing as principle, and we hold that by careful examination and classification of facts certain principles do appear. Nor does Sir Alfred realise that local differences often count for little in comparison with the question of the culture-stage. Just as we may assume that all tribes of men have gone through the various stages of savagery and barbarism, so we assume that their minds have gone through certain definite stages ; and these we endeavour to trace by examining not only traditions but existing tribes. Fruit-eating savages may eat apples, or they may eat bananas ; but their thoughts in that stage will probably not differ in the main. If this be true (and the more we learn, the

more it appears to be true), it will not much matter whether the savage lives on the banks of the Ganges or in the Torres Straits. In searching for the origin of religion, then, we do not exclude special studies of limited districts and limited times; but we often find more help from "idiotic stories told by Digger Indians and Esquimaux." Without such comprehensive generalisations as we have spoken of, Sir Alfred himself could not have felt that the intellectual attitude of the savage was like "the animistic tendency of civilised men to treat a ship or a steam engine as a living creature." Even this analogy, unsound as it is—for the civilised man is only playing at such a belief—occurs to Sir Alfred only because folklorists have cleared the way. He bases his own generalisation on the science whose methods he has condemned.

We will allow, then, that Sir Alfred Lyall has made some good points against certain applications of the science of folklore. We enjoy his pleasant bit of fooling which identifies St. Denis with Dionysius the Areopagite and Dionysus the wine-god, and his good-humoured chaff of Miss Kingsley's fishes and happy-go-luckihood. But we do not find that he has touched the fortress. He really attacks the abuse, not the use, of a scientific method in folklore; and he shows that he has no real understanding of what that method is.

L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE, publiée sous la direction de ÉMILE DURKHEIM, Professeur de Sociologie à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. Deuxième Année (1897-1898). Paris: Félix Alcan. 1899.

THE first volume of this annual was noticed last year (*Folk-Lore*, vol. ix., p. 251), and to that notice I must refer for a general statement of its objects and character. The present volume fully maintains the high standard set up by M. Durkheim and his collaborators. The two essays which precede the analyses of the year's publications are, the first by M. Durkheim himself on the definition of religious phenomena, and the second by Messrs. Hubert and Mauss on the nature and functions of sacrifice.

In the former M. Durkheim discusses the definitions of religion associated with the names of Max Müller, Spencer, and Réville, and shows their inexactitude by comparison of the objective facts of various religions. He argues that these distinguished writers have begun at the wrong end. Their common blunder is to endeavour to express at the outset the whole contents of religious life. But these contents vary infinitely with the time and the society, and they can only be determined slowly and progressively with the advance of science. It is, in fact, the object of religious sociology to ascertain them; they cannot, therefore, furnish the matter of an initial definition. The exterior and apparent form of religious phenomena is alone immediately accessible to observation; and it is to that we must address ourselves. He then proceeds to propound and defend his own definition of religious phenomena. They consist, he tells us, in obligatory beliefs connected with definite practices relating to objects presented in these beliefs. Religion is a totality more or less organised and systematised of phenomena of this kind. We must seek its origin, not in individual sentiments, but, since the obligation of the beliefs is social in its origin, in the states of the collective soul; and it varies as they vary. Personal religion is only the subjective aspect of the external, impersonal, and public religion. The beliefs and practices which are the fruit of individual spontaneity concern similar objects to those of the obligatory beliefs and practices. To make the definition complete and correct we must include under the name of religious phenomena these voluntary beliefs and practices. The notion of sacredness remains in its origin social, and can only be explained sociologically.

From this thoughtful methodological dissertation I turn to Messrs. Hubert and Mauss' essay. It is the exposition of a provisional hypothesis on the nature and function of sacrifice different from those enunciated by Tylor, Robertson Smith, and Frazer. Theories of sacrifice are as old as the religions; but it is to the British anthropologists just mentioned and their followers that are due the first really scientific theories. Objecting that Professor Tylor has well described the phases of the moral development of sacrifice, but has totally overlooked the development of its mechanism, and that the fault of the school of Robertson Smith is the attempt to reduce the manifold forms of sacrifice to the unity of a principle chosen arbitrarily and resting on no historical

proof, the authors find the way of perfection in the study of typical facts. These they borrow mainly from the Sanskrit texts and from the Bible. Nowhere else are recorded the exact steps of the ritual with sufficient accuracy and sequence. To look for their typical facts in ethnological collections would, they hold, be to carry their study over groups of facts artificially formed, and not in their ordinary and actual growth. In the definite and complete rituals with which they deal, they have totalities of natural systems of rites ; and by keeping within the restraints imposed by the texts they are the less exposed to omissions and to arbitrary classifications. But they do not refuse to appeal either to classical sources or to ethnological collections to illustrate their analyses and to check the generality of their conclusions. Lastly, as the two religions with which they chiefly concern themselves are very different, the one tending to monotheism and the other to pantheism, they hope in comparing them to arrive at sufficiently general conclusions.

Here I must interpose an observation or two. No doubt such an examination as the authors have carried out will yield, and in fact does yield, a large amount of valuable information about the objects and method of sacrifice in its most developed forms. Incidentally this may afford us grounds for various conjectures about the origin and early forms of sacrifice ; and after all it is the origin and early forms which are the most important in this inquiry. It may be that nothing more certain can be obtained than the conjectures we may make from observation of these finished forms. But we cannot assume that, because Robertson Smith's method may have been arbitrary and Tylor may have neglected an essential aspect of the problem, an examination of the forms of sacrifice current in other countries and other grades of civilisation (though our information about them may be less full, may even be often defective in serious particulars), will not result in the discovery of facts pointing to a theory yet nearer the truth. I for one cannot admit that an occasional appeal to ethnological sources to control the conclusions arrived at by the examination of Hindu and Hebrew sacrifices is at all sufficient, or is less arbitrary than the method to which the authors rightly or wrongly object. The most accurate analysis of these sacrifices will not absolve the student who desires to attain a reasonable and fairly verifiable theory on the origin and early forms of sacrifice from examining in detail the procedure

elsewhere with the best classical and ethnological learning at his command. Theories evolved from the examination of one or two forms, even though the most developed, may be true; but they cannot be trusted until they have been confirmed in all other available directions.

I have no space to follow step by step the careful analysis contained in this brilliant and suggestive essay. Starting with a few necessary definitions, and insisting on the identity of the elements of the more complex rites, the authors justify their selection of the typical sacrifice, that of the Vedic animal sacrifice. The scheme of the sacrifice is then minutely drawn out. The entry or introductory rites are described, with their effects on (i) the person, or group of persons, on whose behalf the sacrifice is offered, (ii) the sacrificing priest or other officiant, (iii) the place and instruments of the sacrifice. The course of the actual sacrifice and the closing rites, or exit from the sacrifice, are narrated. Two chapters are devoted to showing how the scheme varies according to the intention of the sacrifice. The sacrifice of the god is the theme of another chapter, which includes a disquisition of some length on the relations between ritual and myth, a large place being given to cosmological myths. In conclusion, the authors declare that all the possible kinds of sacrifices have not issued, as Robertson Smith believed, from one simple, primitive form. There are two principal types of sacrifice, that of sacralisation and that of desacralisation. But these are closely interdependent, since in every sacrifice of sacralisation a desacralisation is implied, and conversely in every sacrifice of desacralisation we find an act of sacralisation. Moreover, these two are merely abstract types. Every sacrifice takes place in definite circumstances and for definite purposes; and the diversity of purposes gives birth to diversity of modes. Now, on the one hand, there is no religion in which these modes do not co-exist in greater or less number; on the other hand, there is no particular sacrifice which is not complex in itself, either pursuing several aims at once, or putting in movement several forces to attain one end. Amid all this complexity the unity of the sacrifice arises from the fact that under the diversity of its forms, one procedure only can be employed for the most different ends. That procedure consists in establishing a communication between the two worlds, the sacred and the profane, through the intermediary of a victim, that is to say, of something

destroyed in the course of the ceremony. The victim does not, as Robertson Smith thought, necessarily arrive at the sacrifice with a religious nature definite and complete. It is the sacrifice which confers this nature. It can accordingly bestow the most diverse virtues, and render the victim apt to fulfil the most varied functions either in different rites or in one and the same rite.

From this bare outline the importance of the essay to the student of the history of religion may perhaps be gathered. The authors' conclusions will have to be considered, and whether accepted or not, their analysis of the process of sacrifice as depicted in the sacred writings of Hindus and Hebrews, and the comparisons they institute, will materially assist future inquirers. It is quite certain that we could not have advanced towards the solution of the problems involved without a methodical consideration of the mechanism of sacrifice. Messrs. Hubert and Mauss have not merely pointed this out, they have shown the way. Progress will follow by an adaptation of their method to inquiries concerning other religions and among other peoples.

The remainder of the volume is devoted to an enumeration and critical notices of books and articles in periodicals published during the year. The word *sociology* as used by M. Durkheim and his collaborators embraces a very wide area. Their principle is that religious, juridical, moral, and economical facts ought all to be treated conformably to their nature, that is to say, as social facts; not (as they are too often treated) as if they were disparate and independent of time, place, and social conditions. Whether to describe or to explain them, they must be considered in connection with a definite social *milieu*, a definite type of society; and it is in the constituent characteristics of this type that the determining cause of whatever phenomenon we are considering must be sought. In this truly scientific spirit the books and other works are approached. It is one with which all serious students of folklore must sympathise, and from which only they can expect solid results. The reviews are written by specialists in the various departments, and, so far as I have examined them, extending to all that border on ethnographical subjects, are generally marked by acuteness, precision, and sanity.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE MUSICAL BOW : A CHAPTER IN THE DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY OF STRINGED INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC. By HENRY BALFOUR, M.A., Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum. Oxford : The Clarendon Press. 1899.

IN this, the first part of a monograph on the development of those musical instruments which claim origin from the musical bow, we are indebted to Mr. Balfour for a most interesting anthropological study. Commencing with the folk-tradition in India and Japan, which accounts for the invention of the Pinaka and the Koto, he goes on to show how the development of the instrument proceeds in at least three well-defined stages—first, when the simple bow of the archer is temporarily converted into a musical instrument ; the second, when the bow is constructed for musical purposes alone ; the third, when a resonator is more or less permanently attached to it.

Next, with a great wealth of anthropological learning and research, illustrated throughout by a series of graphic sketches representing specimens in the Pitt-Rivers and other museums, and derived from accounts by travellers, he proceeds to define the range of this curious instrument. It is found in India, Japan, the great group of islands north of Australia, largely in South Africa and Madagascar, and in the American continent from Mexico through Brazil and as far south as Patagonia. The tale of Hermes and other legends suggest its use on Greek and Latin soil.

Mr. Balfour tentatively accepts the theory that India was the original centre of dispersion. It is true that in quite modern times it has been conveyed by negro slaves to the southern American States. But at present the evidence seems inadequate to establish with certainty that it was nowhere the result of independent invention. We know that the bow as a weapon is in use nearly all the world over, and it does not seem impossible that its adaptation to serve the purpose of a musical instrument may have been independently evolved. It would thus be unnecessary to point to India as the centre from which the invention was primarily derived.

Now that attention has been called to the matter, it may be hoped that our travellers and explorers will supply Mr. Balfour with a much larger series of examples, the comparison of which

may throw some further light on an interesting chapter in the development of primitive music. He promises us a second part of his monograph, which will be devoted to the higher development of the musical bow, and to this we shall look forward with interest.

W. CROOKE.

MARATHI PROVERBS. Collected and arranged by REV. A. MANWARING, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society. Oxford: the Clarendon Press. 1899.

THE literature of India owes, as might have been expected, little to the Marathi genius. A race of small farmers and breeders of cattle, they display in their proverbs that limited view of life and a shrewd, often ill-natured, contempt for the weakling which finds its best utterance in the aphoristic philosophy of Mrs. Poyser. This rural wisdom finds its most fitting illustration in the incidents of a monotonous, squalid life, in the field and the dairy, the mean hut which shelters two or three generations, the wrangling of the mother-in-law with the child-wife, the contempt for the widow, the petty chaffering of the village market-place.

The compiler, I venture to think, has not quite realised the opportunities suggested by his wide knowledge of rural life. We have many collections of Hindu proverbs from many parts of India, and a fresh compilation including so many familiar friends is hardly needed. On the other hand, it would have been an interesting sociological study to discuss the wisdom of the Marathas from a comparative point of view, to select those maxims which really are characteristic of the race, and to show how they stand in relation to the rural philosophy of the Panjabi or Bengali.

The folktales which he gives are, as a rule, jejune and commonplace; most of them are dull apologues obviously invented to point the moral of the proverb. Among the best I may note No. 110, the story of the buffalo which gets its head stuck in a jar and the wise man can suggest no means of relief save by demolishing the house of the unfortunate owner of the beast. In No. 232 we have the crocodile which tries to lure the jackal

into its den, but the shrewd beast cries out, "I have seen many forehead-marks, but never have I seen eyes in mud." In No. 297 the little bird whose eggs have been washed away by the tide wages successful war with the ocean. In 1259 we have the man who claimed kindred with the rich owner of a tree because his cart was made of that wood—"My second cousin plays the German flute." In No. 1629 we have a version of the familiar Three Fatal Wishes.

Among folk-beliefs, of which the author gives only very scanty information, I may note No. 216. After the bear growls at people he becomes deaf, so the only way to escape from his clutches is to shout at him before he sees you. In No. 264 we have the idea that to see two crows coupling is fatal, which is more usually reported of snakes (Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 61). In No. 880 we are told that the finger nails are poisonous, and hence Parsis fling their nail pairings out of doors. I am inclined to doubt whether natives believe their own nails to be poisonous. They certainly believe this of Europeans, and this explains why we use knives and forks and do not eat with our fingers as our betters do. I suspect that the Parsi takes care to dispose of the parings of his nails lest a witch may work evil to him by means of them. In No. 1453 we have the woman who when she falls down says she is worshipping the sun, an avoidance of evil omen like Cæsar's *Teneo te Africa*.

It is almost needless to say that the book is produced in the admirable way which we are accustomed to in the Clarendon Press, and as the originals of the proverbs are given in the Devanagari character it may be useful to students of the Marathi tongue.

W. CROOKE.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA: A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LITERARY, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY, THE ARCHÆOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE. Edited by Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D. Vol. i. London: A. AND C. Black, 1899.

THIS great work, of which the first volume has just appeared, owes its inspiration to the late Professor Robertson Smith, whose famous Biblical articles contributed to the ninth edition of the

Encyclopædia Britannica have been freely utilised after being thoroughly revised and brought up to date by the labours of the present editors. It is not too much to say that they have provided us with the most valuable contribution to the knowledge of the Bible which has hitherto appeared in English. With theological controversy the Folk-Lore Society has no concern; but it may be said that this Encyclopædia frankly accepts the critical methods of the most advanced school of Biblical scholars, while the list of contributors includes the most eminent authorities in England, the Continent, and America.

To us the book is chiefly interesting for its acceptance of anthropology and folklore as aids to study of the Bible, and all students of primitive religion will find it indispensable. In the articles on Creation and the Deluge, for instance, by Professors Zimmern and Cheyne, there will be found admirable summaries of the Babylonian legends and a discussion of their influence on Hebrew belief. Among other notable contributions may be mentioned the exhaustive accounts of the history and religions of Assyria and Babylon, by Mr. L. W. King, and the treatise on Apocalyptic Literature, by Dr. R. H. Charles.

The attention of folklore students may be specially directed to the articles on Adonis; Angel; Asherah (which was not originally a sacred tree); Asmodeus and his connection with Lilith; Azazel and the literature of the Scapegoat; Baal; Babel ("Not to be able to understand one's neighbours seemed to primitive men a curse. It is said that there are many such myths elsewhere, and some of them, *e.g.* that reported by Livingstone from Lake Ngami, and that mentioned in the Bengal Census Report for 1872, have a certain similarity to the Hebrew story"); Beelzebul, not a god of flies, but "lord of the nether world"; Behemoth and Leviathan, forms of the Babylonian Tiamat; the Burning Bush ("a fusion of two beliefs—that fire indicated the divine presence, and that certain trees were the permanent abode of deities"); Tubal Cain ("a humanised god, like Chousor, the Phœnician Hephaistos"; the Golden Calf and bull-worship; the Canticles based on Syrian marriage ritual; the Cherub and the Griffin; the traditions of the Cross; Dagon and his kinsfolk; Demons and Dragons.

Those interested in primitive ritual will learn much from the articles on Altar, Ark of the Covenant, Circumcision, Cuttings of the Flesh and Tattooing, and Divination.

The book is admirably printed, and everywhere a wide range of authorities is cited. As a whole it reflects the greatest credit on modern Biblical scholarship.

W. CROOKE.

EAGLEHAWK AND CROW : A STUDY OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES, INCLUDING AN INQUIRY INTO THEIR ORIGIN, AND A SURVEY OF AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES. By JOHN MATHEW, M.A., B.D. London : D. Nutt. Melbourne : Melville, Mullen, and Slade. 1899.

MR. MATHEW'S object in this work is to demonstrate that the original settlers of Australia and Tasmania were Papuans, and that while in Tasmania the race remained pure, in Australia it became mixed by an influx of Dravidians, who made their way from India across the intervening seas and islands, and by a smaller and later influx of Malays. The word Papuan is defined as Melanesian, with which the author is of opinion that infusion of Negrito blood may be traced, but the question is left undetermined. To prove the hypothesis he adduces five arguments, from physiology, from mythology and tradition, from implements, from customs, and from language. He supposes that the Papuan settlement took place at a remote period before Tasmania was separated by Bass Strait from the continent, and that the Dravidian invasion took place after that event, the invaders landing first on the north-east coast of Queensland, and fighting their way southward and south-westward along the river-courses to the centre about Lake Eyre, and finally merging in the general body of inhabitants. The Malay incursions, on the other hand, though repeated, are of less account ; they have left, however, "unquestionable traces on the Australian language."

The theory in its broad outlines is recommended by an *à priori* probability. The physical argument and the argument from weapons have considerable force ; but I pass them by as less interesting to students of folklore pure and simple than some of the others. It is in the argument from language that the most valuable contribution has been made by Mr. Mathew towards the solution of the problem. His comparative tables of words, his

remarks on the phonology of the dialects, his analysis of the grammar, must all prove of value to inquirers. Some of his materials are perhaps not very trustworthy, though it may be doubted whether he had much choice in the matter. He has also been hampered by want of a standard system of transcription of the native sounds. The indeterminate character of many of these sounds is a familiar phenomenon to every student of philology, and has been properly emphasised by Mr. Mathew. Our haphazard transcription has obscured the relations existing between many words, especially in cases of indeterminate pronunciation, and it often renders identification difficult. He makes use to some extent of Curr's lists of words, but he does not cite Eyre's. Reasons for not using Eyre's lists may be conjectured. It would, however, have been satisfactory to have them given, or at least some critical remarks upon the lists. Considering the scarcity of his materials, Mr. Mathew has made a strong case for the similarity between the dialects of Victoria and the Tasmanian, amounting to a fair presumption of essential unity of language. Trained philological study is urgently wanted on the whole subject of the Australian tongues.

The book derives its title from the names of the two exogamous classes into which the tribes in Central and Northern Victoria are divided. An analogous division subsists practically all over the continent, frequently distinguished by names having an equivalent meaning, or drawn from those of some classes of objects in the external world. Mr. Howitt suggests that they were originally totem-names. Mr. Mathew goes further. He ventures upon the theory that these two primary classes were two races which met and fought, and at last amalgamated in Australia. The native traditions of the contest between the Eaglehawk and the Crow he regards as a narrative of the relations between the two races, transmuted into the terms of mythology. There is a good deal to be urged in favour of this theory. But Mr. Mathew has hardly wrought it out with systematic and exhaustive accuracy. We want a map, showing, so far as present knowledge extends, the range of the Eaglehawk and Crow as divisional names, and of the traditions relative to the ancient contest between them; showing, moreover, the range not merely of parallel divisions, but of equivalent names, what they are, and what meaning and traditions are annexed to them. Without such details the theory remains

no more than a suggestive and ingenious guess. As such, however, it is certainly one to be borne in mind in future investigations.

The argument from customs is the weakest. Twenty-one customs are enumerated on p. 27 as common to the Tasmanians and Australians; and the author says: "This list of remarkable practices, identical in both countries, is surely sufficiently imposing to establish of itself a very intimate connection, if remote in time." If these twenty-one customs were peculiar to Australia and Tasmania his argument would be valid. This he does not seek to prove; and if he did he would fail, for thirteen at least are common to savages over the greater part of the world, and four or five others are known in other lands than Australia and Tasmania, leaving only three or four at the most—more probably two or even one—possessing any real significance. Chapter VIII. contains an interesting discussion on the question whether group-marriage has ever prevailed in Australia. The author sets himself in opposition on this point to the opinion of Messrs. Fison and Howitt, whose arguments, reinforced by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, seem to me to be conclusive. This chapter also contains some useful tables of the marriage systems of various tribes, and some acute observations which deserve to be considered; but I hardly think he has fathomed the difficult subject of the marriage regulations. The remaining chapters, IX. and XI., in which the argument from customs is elaborated, are thin. They are vague and add nothing to our knowledge. It is obvious that Mr. Mathew has not made a study of savage belief and practice. Chapter X. reproduces a number of drawings found upon rocks and in caves in various parts of Australia. Most of them, if not all, have been published before. Some of them have been a puzzle to anthropologists ever since they were discovered, as being above the level of art of which the aborigines at present seem capable. It cannot be said, however, that Mr. Mathew has thrown much light upon them. His reading of what look like alphabetical characters is very doubtful; and his citations from Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* cannot be taken seriously.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

KÖHLER (R.), KLEINERE SCHRIFTEN. Vol. I. ZUR MÄRCHENFORSCHUNG, herausg. von JOH. BOLTE. Weimar: 1898.

IT cannot but be welcome to all students of storiology to have collected in one volume the majority of Köhler's notes on the study of popular tales, scattered as these are throughout a number of publications, many of a periodical nature practically inaccessible to whoever has not at command the resources of a large library. Whatever story-theme was handled by Köhler—save in the case of Celtic storiology, with the special features and conditions of which he was imperfectly acquainted—his treatment, up to the date of its publication, is practically exhaustive. Every serious student of tales *must* in the first place ascertain what Köhler has said; not only will he find the task of investigation immensely lightened, he is almost sure to be referred to sources which he would have overlooked. Even were this volume a bare reprint, its utility as a working tool would make it indispensable. But it also contains a certain amount of inedited matter, addenda from Köhler's posthumous remains, and a fair number of additional references due to Dr. Bolte.

I cannot, however, think that Köhler himself would have been satisfied with this publication. The Index is altogether insufficient, and the editor has not done a tithe of what he should to bring Köhler's information up to date by supplementing and, where necessary, revising it. The authority which Köhler so justly earned by his unwearied labour, his encyclopædic range of reading and his scientific caution, makes it dangerous to stereotype matter the provisional nature of which was felt by none more keenly than by the author. The student who turns up a statement in *Orient und Occident* or in *Germania* of the sixties is under no temptation to regard it as the final word of research: the case is different when he meets it in a volume dated 1898. I am fully aware that a second Köhler would be required to fully supplement the work of the first, and I do not wish to appear ungracious in commenting upon what Dr. Bolte has done. His additions are frequently of use. But that more might and should have been done in this particular case, and that the policy of reprinting *verbatim* matter which has necessarily become antiquated is a doubtful one, are propositions I venture to urge without fear of contradiction.

ALFRED NUTT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ALPHABET USED IN CONSECRATING A CHURCH.

I have lately been informed that in consecrating a Roman Catholic church the letters of the Greek and the Latin alphabet should, according to ancient tradition, be written by the bishop with his crozier on two lines of ashes sprinkled on the floor. These lines ought to intersect each other in the form of a cross. The rite is said to show the union of all peoples and all languages in the Christian Church. Has it nothing to do with the hoary belief in the efficacy of spells and runes? Can parallels to it be adduced from the customs of Chaldea, Egypt, and other bygone civilisations?

A. E. O. E.

GIANTS IN PAGEANTS.

Notes on the osier-work giants used in public festivities in the Low Countries and Flanders are given in the *Intermédiaire*,¹ the question being asked whether the giants of Spain suggested those of the Netherlands or *vice versâ*. In what countries of Europe has it been the custom to make use of giants and dragons to enliven public processions? Were they generally used in those high festivals of the middle ages which represented the feasts anciently held in honour of the powers of nature?

L. W.

CUSTOMS RELATING TO IRON.

(Vol. x. p. 457).

In the last issue of this Journal Miss Florence Peacock states of a district in England that the nurse sometimes heats the water in which a newly-born child is washed by plunging into it a red-

¹ 10 juillet, 1898, col. 6; 30 septembre, 1898, col. 462.

hot poker; and she implies that the virtue of this act resides in the iron.

I have known midwives in Lancashire for a like purpose heat water by casting into it red-hot cinders. It is an accepted fact that amongst those people whose culinary vessels could not withstand the action of fire, the water in them was heated by "pot-boilers," *i.e.* by putting into them hot stones. Perhaps it is a survival of this custom rather than the magical properties of iron that supplies an explanation of these practices.

Miss Peacock also seems to suggest that a fully conscious person could only with extreme difficulty be killed by knocking nails into his skull, though such a process might certainly be fatal were the victim asleep when the deed was done. It may be true that Sisera was "fast asleep and weary," and that one nail was enough; but that was in the age of miracle. Cannot the Lincolnshire case and others be re-examined; and may they not be allied, in motive, to the transfixion of a suicide's body with a stake?

I remember attending in her last illness a woman whose son, of low mental type, was the only person to wait upon her, and he was altogether neglecting his duty. One day I found matters much improved, and inquired the reason.

"Oh," she said, "he is all right now. I told him if he did not do better *I would come back.*"

Now, we can imagine such a man's going to his dead mother with a hammer and some nails, and saying, "I'll take very good care she *doesn't* come back."

H. COLLEY MARCH.

THE LITTLE RED HEN.

(Vol. x., pp. 116, 361.)

A version attributed to "an English lady" appears in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. xii., p. 291.

E. S. H.

MISCELLANEA.

DORSET FOLKLORE.

(Continued from vol. x., p. 489.)

23. The Rev. J. Woodman, incumbent of Wootton Granville, near Buckland Newton, visited a dying parishioner of evil reputation. "Didn't want no reading," said Mullet, the sick man. But the parson persevered. After Mullet's death, Mr. Woodman twice reproved the sexton for not having turfed the grave. "What's the use?" answered the sexton. "' Have doned it twice, and he do kick it off every night." "Do it again," said the parson angrily, "and I'll stand by and see you do it." And so it was. And early on the morrow, parson went down to inspect, but lo! all the sods were thrown off. "' Told ee zo," said the sexton, coming in at the gate, "' knowed how it it ud be!"

Mrs. Astell adds that the Mullets are still living, and all have the name of wizards and of the Evil Eye.

The following stories are from Portesham, where the writer resides:—

24. Mrs. Thomas Pitman, aged 64, says: "In the middle of February, 1870, my daughter Elizabeth, then seven years old, but now married to Robert Stoney, and living in Dorchester, began to be disturbed at nights. This was at Hilton, near Abbey Milton. She screamed, and cried out that she saw someone who came to her. I had to fetch her down-stairs, and had a terrible job to satisfy her. Often we had to get up out of bed, she would screech so. My children had always been good about going to bed, and had never complained at being left alone. Our bedrooms were in the garret, and she used to see a woman come down the chimney and make faces at her and hold up her hands. One night, when I had gone to her, she declared that this woman was close beside me. This went on for about a month, and she had gone quite

thin, when I went to Martin's Town to tell my parents about it, and they wished me to go to 'the old woman' at Dorchester. I had often heard of her, but had never seen her.

"So in the middle of March I went to her with my brother's wife, Mrs. Spracklen, laundress, Weymouth, taking my little boy Willy, who was four years old. 'The old woman' lived in Pease Lane, now Colyton Street. She is now dead. She wore a black gown, a little shawl, and a very high cap with a frill all round her face and under her chin; and Willy was so frightened at the sight of her that he would not go into her room, which was up-stairs, but stayed out on the landing. - I forget her name.

"I told her how Elizabeth was affected, and that I had been advised to come to her to see if she could help me, and if there was anything wrong.

"First she took out a pack of cards, and told me to cut them. I turned up a queen. 'It is a dark woman who has to leave her house,' she said, 'and who has an ill will, not to the child, but to the parents.' The neighbour I suspected was Mrs. Rigg, who was dark. It had been thought that we were leaving at Lady Day, but at last we had settled not to leave, as was expected. Rigg had not a settled place like my husband. He just rented a cottage and worked for one and another as a labourer, but he wished to get a regular place. Mrs. Rigg wanted to have our house. It was better than hers, which was ruinous. So they were hoping to get our house and our place. Elizabeth used to play with Rigg's children, but now she was so timid she would cling to me and not play with anyone. 'The old woman' told me to throw salt on the fire every morning as soon as I had kindled it, and before I broke my fast. Also, to nail up a horse-shoe, loop downwards and legs up, behind the door, and the rustier the nails I used the better. I was to throw a cloth over it, so that anybody should not notice it. Then I was to put an open penknife inside a book of common prayer and place this under the child's pillow at night. She promised me that in a week the child should be well and playing with the others. Before I left she told me to *wish*, but I had not any wish ready, and I didn't want to do Mrs. Rigg any harm, so I only wished that if it were she, she should have to come to me before the week was out. I did not tell 'the old woman' what my wish was, nor did I name it to anyone until after it had come to pass.

"On going away I asked her what she would expect. She said

I was a poor woman and if I would give her sixpence she would be quite satisfied, but it must be a silver sixpence. So I gave it her.

"I missed the carrier, and had to stop that night at Dorchester with my brother, and the next day being Sunday I had to travel on foot all the way home, from ten in the morning until seven at night, for we lost our way. We had no horse-shoe in the house when I got home, and my husband did not hurry to get one, he not thinking much of it. On Monday morning I did what 'the old woman' had told me, and at night and when he was gone to stable I put the children to bed. When he was coming in Elizabeth began to scream and almost jumped over the banisters. My husband fetched her down-stairs. He had never seen her so bad as this before ; so, as soon as she was quiet, and before he went to bed, he put up the horse-shoe on the back of the door at the bottom of the garret stairs.

"This was the last fright the child had, and then she began to improve, and before the week was out she was playing with the other children just as before. The neighbours noticed the difference in the child, and Mr. Garland, our master, quite believed about it all.

"On Wednesday Mrs. Rigg, the dark woman, came up to my house and said : 'Oh, Mrs. Pitman, we had a few coals from you, and would you like a few taties for them ?' I was afraid, and did not like to have them, and said it was a long time ago and she was welcome to the coals ; but she pressed me. When Elizabeth went to fetch the taties Mrs. Rigg gave her a needle which she had borrowed from me, and darned it into her sun-bonnet. She would not let her take it in her hand, because if you can prick the person who has hurt you so as to fetch blood she can never do you any harm.

"After this Mrs. Rigg's child was ill, and they said I had done her some harm, but I had not. Indeed, 'the old woman' had said it should be turned to the opposite on herself and her family. Mary Rigg was about forty, and she had two children. It was said that her husband could not stop at his work if he had offended her, she could make him so miserable."

25. Mrs. Pitman also relates the following : "It is the custom in Dorset that when labourers are changing places they are fetched, bag and baggage, by their new master on Lady Day,

April 6th ; but carters go to their new place on the 5th and take charge of their horses that night, and the next day take a horse and cart to fetch their families. Ten years ago we moved from near Wareham to Huish Farm on Baron Hambro's estate, near Abbey Milton. The farmer was Mr. Tett, and between the day when my husband went and the following when he fetched us there Mr. Tett died. We stopped on, however, and after six months took service there with Mr. Wallis, a bailiff under the Baron. We had a cottage close to the stables where the horses for both ploughs were kept, and where were kept, too, the horses of old William Vachor, another ploughman. But after a while the bailiff moved these horses to Long Close, and Vachor did not like it. The last Sunday his horses were in our stable, instead of going home he stayed in an empty cottage close to our house till he could 'reck up,' or fill the racks, which is done between seven and eight o'clock at night. In the evening, about six o'clock, a great noise was heard in the stable, just as if the horses had broken loose—there were sixteen of them—but nothing was to be seen when my husband and sons went in. On their way they passed William Vachor coming out of the empty cottage, and he said he had been asleep. This went on at different times. I have heard it at ten o'clock at night. Early one morning a labourer coming over the fields heard it and asked what could be the matter. My husband and sons have heard it in the tallet, or hayloft, when they were in the stable. The noise was out of all reason, and people began to say that old Tett had come back again.

"One morning my son George, then fifteen years old, taking up some horses at ten o'clock, heard something going over the straw and pounding on the floor. He took up a besom and tried to strike it, but it was too quick for him and got away. He could only see that something was there, but could not tell what. Two or three months after these noises had begun, my husband and sons came home one day for dinner at two o'clock, as carters do ; and Albert, aged seventeen, and George ran into the stable, and looking about George saw old William Vachor, who used to stable his horses there, in the dust-hole, or bin where chop and chaff is kept. As soon as he saw the boys, he passed them quickly and vanished through a small hole in the window over the door, no bigger than the glasses of a pair of spectacles. Albert did not see

what his brother did, for it is not everyone who can see these things, and George was too much afraid to speak of it at first. Of course it was Vachor's spirit, for his real body could not have done it. It was only an appearance, and his real body must have been sleeping somewhere. They do go to sleep when the soul leaves to do these things.

"Well, some days after, my sons were talking with the boys who worked with William Vachor, and who were with him at that very time, and they said they all at once missed him. Where he went they didn't know, but he was gone full half an hour, and they thought he had gone to sleep under a hedge. After this, one evening my son met Vachor in Milton as we were going up to chapel. He came out of his house and asked roughly what was going on down stable, and if old Tett had been again. 'No!' said George, 'It is not old Tett. We know who it is, and it had best be dropped or they will know more of it.' He made no answer, and no more noises were ever heard."

26. Dr. Hawkins, of Abbotsbury, relates that in 1890 a dairyman of Longbredy had lost a horse, and thereupon consulted a wise woman, Mrs. Bartlett, aged between sixty and seventy, who told him that he had been overlooked, and that the person who had done this would shortly try to borrow something of him. Shortly afterwards a neighbouring dairyman named Hansford, it being market day, sent up to borrow some piece of harness. He was then charged with overlooking and causing the death of the horse; and permanent ill-will was established between the two men. This wise woman was also a witch. Those persons who had been bewitched by her could escape the spell by drawing her blood, which they did by assaulting her. She was an uneducated village midwife, and died in 1896.

27. Extract from the *Dorset County Chronicle* for October 28, 1897.—"A peculiar case came before the Bench at Wincanton Police Court on Monday, when one woman summoned another for unlawful wounding. It appeared the defendant considered she was bewitched by the complainant, and determined to break the spell by the supposed sure means of drawing blood. In order to do this she deliberately, on meeting complainant in a factory, drew a pin across the back of her wrists and had the satisfaction of seeing the blood flow. The parties are neighbours, but are not on friendly terms. The Bench bound over the defendant to be

of good behaviour." Wincanton is in Somerset, within a few miles of Dorset.

28. The Reverend F. W. Crick, of Litton Cheney, relates that in 1896 his cook, aged thirty, and his housemaid, aged nineteen, quarrelled, when the latter threatened to go to Bridport to a wise woman and get the cook overlooked. The cook came to Mrs. Crick and implored her if her fellow-servant asked leave to go to Bridport, to refuse permission. The housemaid did ask and was refused. The cook soon after became ill, and has since died of consumption.

29. In Portesham, and elsewhere, as a cure for epilepsy, a knife is placed on its back, edge up, under the patient's bed, to cut the charm.

30. There is another cure for epilepsy, of which the following is an example. The boy Hallett, who lives in Portesham, was fourteen years old when he fell from a swing and fits followed every six weeks. When he was seventeen years old he obtained in the usual manner a magic ring. He collected from thirty girls or women thirty pence. But the last donor had to give a silver half-crown piece, receiving twenty-nine pence, and had herself to get the coin made into a ring and place it on the patient's little finger of the left hand. It was needful that no payment should be given to the constructor of the ring nor to the last donor for any cost she incurred in going to Weymouth, where the ring was made. Hallett is now over twenty years of age. I have removed and examined the ring, and offered to buy it. But as the fits, though much less frequent, have not altogether ceased, he naturally refused to sell it.

31. It is customary to plant and graft in Holy-week, especially on Good Friday, when any gardening is sure to prosper. Bread baked on that day is never reamy, and, besides, it possesses a certain virtue. A loaf is baked so hard that it will keep till the next year; it is hung up in the house, and some of it powdered and mixed with water is a sure remedy for any ailment. "Reamy" designates slack bread, that "strings out" when drawn asunder.

HY. COLLEY MARCH.

Portesham, June 9, 1899.

FOLKTALES FROM THE ÆGEAN.

(Continued from vol. x., p. 502.)

[Stories Nos. V., VI., and VII. are from Lesbos ; they were told by a woman named Melsini Chistelli, aged about 50, illiterate, who also told Nos. I., II., and IV.]

V. *The Fisherman's Son.*

Once upon a time there was a fisherman. One day he went and cast his nets in a place he had never been to before. When he was about to pull them in, a terrible beast came up out of the sea and told him that his life was forfeited to it for daring to come and fish in that place. But the fisherman begged it to spare him, and promised that the next day he would give it his only son. Then he returned home, having caught more fish than he had ever caught before. Next day he went back to fish at the same place, but did not take his son. However, the beast consented to give him one more day's grace, and he again made a most plentiful catch of fish. On the morrow he told his son he must come fishing with him, and when they came to the place where the boat was drawn up he bid him get in first, but the boy knew that he had been promised to the beast, and said : "No, father, you get in and I will follow." When his father had stepped into the boat, he shoved it off, and his father was swallowed up by the beast.

The young man now started off to see the world. He came to the top of a hill, where there were three beasts, a lion, an eagle, and an ant, trying to agree, but in vain, about the division of a carcase. He said he would divide it for them, and gave the bones to the lion, the lean to the eagle, and the fat to the ant. In return for this service they asked him what gifts he desired. He said he wanted nothing, but they insisted, and the lion gave him his strength, the eagle his swiftness, and the ant the power of burrowing. He went on his way, and came to a sheepfold where all the shepherds save one were mutilated in some way. One had his nose cut off, another an ear, and so on. He asked them why they had been thus cruelly used, and they told him : "The king's daughter in the town near wishes to have her milk brought her every morning with the froth on it, and because we cannot do this she has so mutilated us. We have all tried save this our

companion, and it is his turn to-morrow." "Let me take his place," said the young man, and they consented. Next morning he took the milk, and called to the eagle, and found himself in a moment at the palace. The princess was, you may be sure, very pleased, and gave him a handsome present. This went on for some days, and he began to grow fond of the princess, and one night he called on the eagle, and found himself in her bedchamber, where she lay asleep, with a candle at her head and a candle at her feet, and a glass of sherbet and an apple on the table at her bedside. He ate the apple and drank the sherbet, and lay down by the princess's side and kissed her. "A man! a man!" shouted the princess, and everybody in the palace came running to see what was the matter. But he had called on the ant, and disappeared by burrowing through the floor. So they quieted her, and persuaded her it was fancy. Next night the same thing happened, and this time the king was very angry, and told his daughter if there was any more of this nonsense he would cut her head off. On the following night the princess put hooks in her hands, and when she felt herself kissed, instead of calling out, said: "Let me stroke your face," but instead of stroking it she scratched it all over. Calling on the ant, the young man disappeared, and next morning he told the shepherds that he could no longer take the milk. But they promised him half their flocks, and begged and entreated him so hard that he had to give in, and off he went with the milk. Of course the princess knew at once, when she saw his face, that it was he who had visited her at night: but he was a handsome fellow, and she was not so very angry.

Now it happened that the king, her father, had just of late been telling her that it was time for her to choose a husband, and the fisherman's son bade her say that she would have no one but him who could move a huge marble block which lay in the courtyard of the palace. The king sent out his heralds to cry that whoever could move this block would have his daughter to wife. Many suitors tried in vain; then came the shepherd lad, and calling on the lion, took up the great stone, and threw it as far as from here to the *Makró Yialó*. The princess threw an apple at him, and they were married.

After a while the king had to go to war. He was getting old, and one day he said to his daughter: "Ah, that I had a soldier for a son-in-law, who could lead my armies, and not this

shepherd." The princess begged him to let her husband try his fortune, and the king at length consented. The fisherman's son knew that he had been promised to the beast, and that it would still claim him if he passed its haunt. So before starting he gave his wife three pinks, and told her that as long as they lived he was safe, but if they faded she was to know he had been eaten. He then bade her good-bye, and went off to the war, where he conquered all his enemies by the help of the lion. The time of his return was drawing nigh, when one day the princess saw the pinks withered, and she knew what had befallen her husband. She built herself a house on the seashore, just where the monster lived. One day she went down to the beach and began playing with an apple. In a little while the beast appeared and said: "Give me that apple for a pretty youth who is inside me." "Let him put his head out and I will," said the princess, and when her husband put his head out of the beast's jaws she threw the apple to him. Next day she went again playing with an apple, and the beast again asked her for it for the youth inside him. "Let him come half out," said the princess, and the beast allowed it, and she again threw the apple. Next day it was: "Let him come and stand on your back," and when the beast allowed this too, and her husband stood on its back, the princess said: "Now fly!" and calling on the eagle he flew into her arms, and they went back and lived happily ever afterwards.¹

VI. *The Eagle.*

Once upon a time there was a king who had one daughter. He kept her shut up in a glass chamber, and one day as she was playing at ball with her waiting-women one of the balls broke the glass, and an eagle flew in and kissed her and flew out again. The princess ran away and went to seek her lover. After walking a long way she came to a little house in a wood. She said: "In God's name I will go in, and if they are Christians they will take pity on me." Inside was an ogress. "Here is a nice morsel come just when I wanted it," said the ogress. "I have finished my

¹ According to a tradition, known only, I think, from a vase-painting, the dragon that guarded the golden fleece swallowed Jason, and only gave him up by the force of Medea's enchantments.

servant and feel hungry. I will first set you three tasks, and if you can't perform them, then I will eat you. To-morrow I am going out hunting, and when I come back I want to find the house swept and unswept." Next day when the princess was left alone she sat down and began to cry, and, as she cried, the eagle stood before her and asked her: "What are you crying for, my child?" She told him, and he said: "Give me a kiss and I will tell you what to do." "He who kissed me first is far away," said the princess, and refused; but the eagle had compassion on her, she was crying so bitterly, and told her: "Sweep all the rooms and make little heaps of the sweepings, and if she say to you, 'Your mother is a witch and your sire a wizard, or my son Kakothanatos told you,' then you must reply, 'My mother is no witch and my father no wizard, nor did your son Kalothanatos tell me,' but mind not to say Kakothanatos, for then she will eat you." The princess did as the eagle told her. Next day the ogress said: "I am going out hunting, and when I come back I must find the meat cooked and uncooked." Again the girl sat down and cried, and the eagle stood before her and asked for a kiss if she would have him tell her what to do. But she was constant in her refusal, and the eagle, taking pity on her, told her: "Put on half the meat to boil at once, and when you see her coming throw the other half in. She will say the same thing to you again, and you must reply in the same way." So all went well, and on the third day the ogress gave the girl a mattress and bade her fill it with feathers from the sea. When the eagle appeared and again asked for a kiss, she still replied: "No, no, he who kissed me is far away." Then the eagle told her: "Take the mattress down to the sea and call to the birds, 'Our *μαργιροντάκις* is dead,' and in their mourning they will shed their feathers. Then quick, quick, fill the mattress, and when the ogress comes home she will say the same thing to you again, and you must answer as I told you."

[Here on telling the story a second time the narratrix inserted a fourth task, to separate all the ears of wheat and barley, &c., which were lying mixed in the ogress's house. The eagle told the princess to go and call the birds and tell them that *μαργιροντάκις* had come to life, and out of joy and gratitude they would perform the task.]

So it befell, and the ogress could not eat the princess. But she sent her on a message to another ogress, her sister, to ask for

toumpána troumána and the khartoproumvána, and made sure that her sister would eat her. The princess went on her errand bemoaning her fate. "So my life is lost, and lost in vain. Far better had I got rest from trouble sooner." But as she wept, there was the eagle, and he spoke to her and said: "Know that I am the son of the ogress, and that it was I who first kissed you. You have been constant throughout, and I will tell you how to get those things my mother sent you to fetch. Under the staircase in her sister's house is a box. Pick it up and run away with it, but mind you don't open it." When she came to the house the princess saw it was unswept and went to work and swept it, and then taking up the box she ran back. But on the way curiosity overcame her, and she opened it, and all the little devils in it escaped. Then she began to cry, again and again saying: "How can I take the box empty to the ogress?" But the eagle appeared and whistled and brought the devils back, and shut them up safely in the box. "Now," he said, "go back to my mother, she is tired of tormenting you. She will say, 'Come, my child, to your mother, what do you want me to give you?' and she will force you to accept something from her house. I will be turned into a jackdaw, and I will be sitting on a stool making a mess. Don't ask for anything else, but say, 'Give me that dirty jackdaw,' and she will say, 'The nasty bird, take it,' and when you have me, take leave of her." So the princess did; and when she took the jackdaw away with her, it turned into a beautiful young prince, and they went home to her father's city and were married, and I wish I had been there.

VII. *The Spanós and the Ogres.*

There was a beardless man (*spanós*) who had two tame hares. One day he went out for a walk and took one of the hares with him, and all of a sudden he met forty ogres. "Here's a nice morsel,"¹ said the ogres. But he said: "You had better take care; I will send my hare for my servants." "What," said the ogres, "can your hare go and bring your servants?" "Of course he can," said the beardless man; "he is a most intelligent animal,

¹ *Meré*, which more or less precisely corresponds to the *hors d'œuvre* of menus.

and does all my shopping and all my messages for me." "Really!" said the ogres; "won't you sell him to us?" "Certainly not," said the man. But after much entreaty he consented to part with the hare for three hundred piastres.

The ogres took the hare home and left him with their cook, who was one of themselves, and when they went to work told him to send the hare to them to say when dinner was ready. Their brother, the cook, when he was nearly ready to serve, strictly charged and dismissed the hare; but the hare took to her heels, and is running still. The ogres waited and waited, but they got no news of their dinner, and came home at nightfall, and swore to be revenged on the beardless man. They went to his house next day, and told him they must eat him; but he asked: "Why? You didn't tell the hare distinctly enough where to go, and here he is; he has come home to his master," and he introduced to them the other hare, which was just like its fellow, and said: "Take him back and speak to him more clearly." This time the ogres' cook spoke most distinctly to the hare, and told him on no account to forget the message and go to his old home again. But the hare ran merrily away over the hills; and the ogres never heard that dinner was ready, and went on working till it grew dark.

Now they swore more solemnly than before to be revenged on the Spanós, and started off for his house. He had wrapped his wife up in the guts of a dead beast and made her lie on the floor; and when the ogres came to his house he took up his flute and began to play. Up got his wife the moment she heard the flute; and the ogres stood by in astonishment, and asked him: "What is the meaning of this?" "Oh," he said, "I often quarrel with my wife and kill her; but I have only to play a tune on this flute and she comes to life again." "Really!" said the ogres; and after much haggling they got him to sell the flute for three thousand piastres; and they all went back and killed their wives, and began playing on the flute. But never one of their wives came to life again.

Then they swore a still more terrible oath to be revenged, and agreed that, as one would not go far among forty, they would not eat the Spanós, but hang him. When they came to his house and told him their decision, he said: "Well, if I am to be hanged, I am to be hanged; only let me ride on my donkey to

the hanging-place," and this they allowed. When they came to the tree on which he was to be hanged, he tied the donkey to it, and the donkey did as donkeys will do. The beardless man had brought four gold coins with him, and he rushed behind the donkey and sat down and scraped and produced the coins. "Hullo!" said the ogres; "where did you get those from?" "Oh," said the beardless man, "it is only the habit of my donkey. We know no want; he stales gold pieces all day long." "Give him to us," said the ogres, "and we won't hang you." And so he gave them the donkey, and told them to shut it up in the byre and give it as much corn and water as it could eat, and there would be all the more gold. So the ogres took the donkey, and gave it so much corn and water that it burst and fell down dead against the door of the byre. When they came in the morning, they could not open the door, and they said: "This is fine; the whole byre is full of gold." And when they pushed the door open a little and saw the glint of the donkey's shoes, they cheered in chorus. But when they entered, they swore with a much mightier oath to be revenged on the beardless man; and they went and caught him, and this time they told him they had resolved to put him in a sack and drown him, as hanging was too good for him. He said: "I deserve it; but hang me up first on a tree, and go right away while I confess my sins." They did so, and he began to call out: "No, I won't marry the princess; I won't!" There was a shepherd near, feeding his flocks, and he heard the cries, and came and asked: "What is all this about?" "They *will* make me marry the princess," said the beardless man, and I don't want to, and they have hung me up here because of that." "Why," said the shepherd, "you don't want to marry the princess? I would, if I could." And he readily changed places with the beardless man, and the ogres came back and took him, and drowned him.

On their way home they found the beardless man peacefully feeding his flock, and they were somewhat astonished. "There are only sheep in that shallow place where you threw me," he said. "If you go deeper you will find oxen." So the whole band of ogres ran off and threw themselves into the deep water and were drowned; and the beardless man went and found their treasure-house, and took all their treasure.

W. R. PATON.

MEDICAL SUPERSTITION IN CYPRUS.

[The following official notes of a trial in the District Court of Larnaca, on the 27th October last, have been kindly forwarded by Mr. Andrew Lang, who received them from Professor Ritchie, of St. Andrew's, by whose permission they are printed. They are of interest as illustrating an ancient superstition referred to in Mr. Rouse's paper on "Folklore from the Southern Sporades," *Folk-Lore*, vol. x. pp. 156 *sqq.*]

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF LARNACA. 1899. No. 141.

Before TH. W. HAYCRAFT, Esq., P.D.C.

VASSILI PAPAKYRIACO, of Tochni . . . PLAINTIFF.

AND

HARALAMPI H. RAFAIL, of Tochni . . . DEFENDANT.

Date of Writ of Summons, 25 July, 1899.

Claim that the DEFENDANT either deliver a Snake's Horn, lent by the PLAINTIFF on 27th April, 1899, or the payment of £80, the value thereof, and costs.

Sitting of the 19th September, 1899.

Settlement of ISSUES.

PLAINTIFF in person.

Mr. EFTHYMIADES for DEFENDANT.

PLAINTIFF says: On 27th April (O.S.) I lent to Defendant a horn, under a condition that he would return it next day, if not, or if it was lost, he would compensate me. We did not mention the amount. The value is £80. He has not returned it, and when I ask for it he says, "They have lost it."

DEFENDANT says: I admit having received the horn, and that it was lost in our hands. I say its value is not more than 10s., which sum we have offered him and he has refused. We are willing at any moment to give him the 10s., if he will take it.

ISSUE.

Is the sum of 10s. sufficient compensation as the value of the horn lent to the Defendant by the Plaintiff and lost by the Defendant?

(Signed) TH. W. HAYCRAFT, P.D.C.

Hearing fixed in presence of Plaintiff for the 26th October, 1899, 9 a.m.

(Signed) W. A. DANDOLO, A.R.D.C.

4/10/99.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF LARNACA.

FULL COURT.

27th October, 1899.

VASSILI PAPAKYRIACO

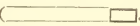
v.

HARALAMPO H. RAFAIL.

PLAINTIFF in person.

Mr. EFTHYMIADES for DEFENDANT.

VASSALI PAPAKYRIACO (sworn): The value of horn was this: If a man or a beast was bitten by a snake, people came to me, and I put my horn in a glass of water. After it was taken out I washed the wound with that water. After that, the wound would heal and the man get all right. I only did this for charity, and do not say that I made any profit out of it. Si quis coire cum uxore non posset, potandam ei dedi aquam in qua cornu illud positum erat, et continuo potuit. It was given the Defendant for a purpose of this kind. This Defendant was Artemis' best man at the marriage. The marriage took place on a Sunday or Tuesday night. Defendant came to me and told me that his cumbaros¹ Artemis was tied up (meaning that he was prevented by the Devil from performing his conjugal duties). He came and asked me to give him my horn, and I gave it to him.

Now this horn is small, something about three-quarters of an inch long. As thin as that (). It is hollow. One day, about eleven years ago, I was clearing bushes in my land, when a boy named Nicola came and told me he was going to untie his mule when he saw a great snake and dare not take it away. He took me to the place and showed me in a hollow in the ground a snake. It was rolled round. I had a pickaxe with me, and I killed it. I cut off its head. The head was severed with a small piece of the body and it walked. As she walked she moved upwards a thin horn just above the right eye. I went up to the snake, pressed the head to the ground with the axe, and seized the little horn and pulled it out. It was stuck in just above the right eyelid. When she lay down, the horn lay down;

¹ *Cumbaros* or *Cumparos* (from the Italian *compare*) = Brother by the ceremony of adoption, or one related by the ecclesiastical tie of sponsorship. One standing in this relation is usually the "best man" at his adopted brother's wedding. Hence the term is used of "best man" simply. Reference may perhaps be permitted to *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii. p. 363.—ED.

when she moved about, the horn moved upwards and stood out. It was a little white horn with a black spot on the top. It was thinner towards the top. As I pulled it out, the whole came out ; and a little part that stuck into the head was like a little spoon. From the middle downwards it was straight, but from the middle upwards it was crooked. I took home the horn and kept it as a curiosity. Some years afterwards, about a year afterwards, it happened that one of my cows was bitten by a snake in the face as it was grazing in the field. The face swelled, and the animal was going to die. Then I thought of the snake, and an inspiration, which I supposed was inspiration from God, came to me ; and I took the horn and put it in some water and sprinkled some of the water on the wound in the presence of fifteen women who were there watching me. I left the animal there, thinking it would be dead before next morning. When I got up next morning, I found the animal all right.

Some time after that, Konstandinos Hajji Michail's animal was bitten by a snake, and I tried my horn in the same way, and the animal was saved. Some time after, another, Konstandi Michaili Bishkli, was married. My brother Konstandi happened to be best man. *Certio rem me fecit amicum [cumparos] suum devinctum esse quominus coiret cum nupta.* "At," inquam, "cornu illud utile est viperino morsui, haud scio an idem utile futurum sit isti." Qui mox cum ad me venisset, petiit ut cornu illud sibi commodarem : concessi. Mane ecce currit ad me alter, affirmat lepide fecisse cum uxore amicum [cumbaros] suum. The same thing occurred to the son of Michaili Hajji Dimitri at Psevmatisméno, and the father asked me for it, and it worked even in a strange village, and the father came and told me that his son was loosed. Later on I loosened a pair at Maroni. That time I put the horn in the water, and only sent the water.

In this particular case, Defendant was the cumbaros of Mr. Artemis, and he came and asked for it. I offered him the water, but he said he would rather have the horn, and said he would pay me for it if he lost it. Being Mouktar and a notable man, I gave it to him. The effect was successful on Mr. Artemis as on others. When I asked Defendant for it, he said he could not give it back because the bridegroom had lost it. I then asked the bridegroom, and he said he had lost it. I could not get it back. I am a farmer of Tochni, and have a family. I am not in want and have

enough money to keep myself and family, and do not want to earn money by my horn. I think it is worth £200.

By Court: An unprincipled man who wished to make a profit out of it would get 5s. or 10s. a time for the loan of it, according to the condition of the parties.

Cross-examined by Mr. EFTHYMIADES: I said I had it in my possession for ten or twelve years. I have cured four men and two animals during this time. As to the animals, I saw they were cured. They were swollen. I did not fix a sum to be paid in case the horn was lost.

I never heard that my father dealt in witchcraft, tying up, and loosening people. I have been offered 10s. by the village school-master. This was a precious thing to me, which I might have left to my children.

By Court: When I first took it out, there was a little thing like the horn of a snail in the end of it, but that afterwards disappeared and left only a little mark. I have heard there is such a thing in Cyprus as a snake with a horn, but I have never found one. I took care to draw out the horn before smashing the head.

KOSTANDI HAJJI MICHAIL (sworn): I am a farmer of Tochni. Three years ago, my she-donkey was bitten by a snake on the jaw, which swelled. The neck was also swollen. I took it to the Plaintiff, who brought out his snake's horn. We put it in a glass of water, and gave the water to the donkey to drink. This was in the evening, and next morning the swelling ceased and the animal was all right. I saw the horn myself. The donkey is here in the town. I rode down on it to-day. Plaintiff and I are first cousins. The Defendant is my brother-in-law. We are all relations in Tochni.

Cross-examined: I was never present when any other animal was cured. I know my animal was bitten by a snake, because I saw the snake. It was a real *κουφή* of a good stock. No one else saw it. I killed the snake. I saw my donkey going round and round, and I went up and found a snake. The *κουφή* had no horn.

KOSTANDI PAPA KYRIACO (sworn): I was Kostandi Dishkli's best man (cumbaros) when he was married. The wedding took place on a Sunday. On a Monday I went as best man to visit the groom. *Affirmavit mihi se esse devinctum quominus cum nupta coiret.* I thought of Vassili and of his snake's horn,

which had the effect of loosening tied men. I went to Vassili, and got some water from him. He washed the snake's horn in the tumbler, and gave me the water. I took the water to the bridegroom, and gave it to him. On Tuesday morning I went to ask for news, and the groom told me he was loosed. I don't know in what way he used the water. He is now dead.

Cross-examined: I took my kumbaros' word for the facts. I did not examine the bride. I never used the horn myself. The Plaintiff is my brother. He did not charge me anything for the water.

Case for Plaintiff.

HARALAMPO HAJJI RAFAÏL (sworn): I had from Defendant [*sic*, sc. Plaintiff] the snake's horn. He first said: "I will give you some water, because if you take the horn you will lose it." I said: "No. Give me the horn, and if I lose it I will pay for it." He did not tell me how much it was worth. I took it, promising to bring it back. If he had told me it was worth £80, I should not have taken it. I asked the schoolmaster to offer Plaintiff 10s. for it. The horn was lost. I hear that Plaintiff has some ill-feeling against me. I have none against him. I would not give 10s. for it.

Cross-examined: I took the horn to the schoolmaster Artemis. The schoolmaster had been married, and was tied up; and it was said Vassili's horn was most effectual in these cases. That was why I borrowed it from Vassilis. It was on a Tuesday I gave it to him, and I did not go and ask for it till the following Sunday. I had to go reaping next day. On Sunday I went to schoolmaster and asked him for the horn. He said he had left it on the table and it was lost. I feel sure it has been lost.

ARTEMIS ALAMIDES (sworn): I am the schoolmaster of Tochni. I received from Defendant a little horn. The Defendant gave it to me and he said: "It does good in cases when people are tied up." It was a little thing as big as a match. I took it, laughed at it, and put it on the table during the night. I do not believe in its magical force. I should not be a schoolmaster if I did. I try to eradicate such feelings amongst the peasants. Five or six days after, Plaintiff came and asked for it, but we did not find it at its place. I offered him 10s. to settle the

matter. He wanted £80. He said: "I make my claim against Haralampo, who is an enemy of mine, and I want to take my revenge."

By Court: I took it, and gave it [to] my wife to keep. She wrapped it up in a piece of paper and put it on the table. The paper was afterwards found on the ground, but the horn was not in it. My kumbaros brought it to me in the night, and I did not like to hurt his feelings by refusing it.

I was married in April last. I was married on Sunday, and received the horn on Tuesday. I did not ask for it. My kumbaros told me it was a snake's horn, and told me its effects. I did not know whose it was. Haralampo asked me to take care of it. My wife saw it, and I told her what it was. I left it on the bedroom-table. I swear I made no use of it. Plaintiff and Defendant are not on bad terms. Plaintiff only complained of Defendant that he had spoken ill of him to the police. I never heard of the horn when I was married.

Mr. EFTHYMADES says the thing is valueless.

Judgment for PLAINTIFF.

Return of the horn within 21 days, or £6 damages. Costs £1 13s. od.

(Signed) TH. W. HAYCRAFT, P.D.C.

Certified to be a true copy.

W. A. DANDOLO, A.R.D.C.

Larnaca, November 11th, 1899.

EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE (PARIS) DE 1900.

The Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions, intended to be held in connection with the Exhibition at Paris from the 3rd to the 9th September next, was announced in *Folk-Lore* for

September last. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th September will be held a Folklore Congress (Congrès des Traditions Populaires). It will be divided into two sections :

I. Oral literature and popular art.

II. Traditional ethnography.

Under the former section will be treated the origin, evolution, and transmission of tales and songs ; the folk-theatre and its relations ancient and modern with the literary theatre ; the origin and evolution of traditional iconography, and its relations with classic art ; the origin and evolution of popular costume and ornaments.

The latter section will deal with survivals in modern times of birth, marriage, and death customs, and of the worship of animals, stones, trees, and fountains ; vestiges of ancient local cults in the worship of the saints ; popular hagiography ; folk-medicine and magic.

The programme, which also includes a review of the progress of folklore studies since the last Congress at Paris in 1889, has been carefully thought out, and will no doubt prove of very great interest. M. Charles Beauquier will preside, while the eminent scholar, M. Gaston Paris, has been appointed honorary president. Full details of the arrangements can be obtained from the general secretary, M. Paul Sébillot, 80, Boulevard Saint-Marcel, Paris. The subscription is fixed at 12 francs.

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Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XI.]

JUNE, 1900.

[No. II.]

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF A CHARM AGAINST THE CHILD-STEALING WITCH.*

BY M. GASTER, PH.D.

(Read at Meeting of March 15th, 1899.)

THE collection of Rumanian popular charms, made by Marian, begins with the following:—

AGAINST THE CATARACT: George got up early and got ready; left the house, left the table, went on the road, on the pathway, strong and beautiful, pink and cheerful; but when he was in the middle of the road, of the road of the pathway, he was met by the Windmaids and by the "Beautiful," who smote him in the face and hurled him to the ground, made his countenance black, covered him with dust, put the Cataract into his eyes, and left him without sight. George began to cry, and with a loud voice to lament. The loud voice went up to Heaven and the tears dropped down to the earth, yet no one saw him, no one heard him, save the Holy Virgin (the Mother of God) from the gate of Heaven; only she saw him, only she heard him, and she called him by his name, and she asked him thus: "George, why do you cry? Why do you lament? Why do you raise your voice, a voice that reaches Heaven, whilst the tears are dropping down upon the earth?" "How should I not cry? And how should I not lament

* v. *M. Gaster*, *Li Literatura populara română* București 1883, pp. 394-416.; *B. P. Hasdeu*, *cuvinte den Bătrâni II*. București 1879, pp. 263-291.; *A. N. Wesselofsky*, *Razyskaniya vŭ oblasti russkihŭ Iuhovnyhŭ stihovŭ VI*. Ls. Phrobg 1883, pp. 40-53; and *S. Fl. Mariani*, *Descânhece poporane române*, cernăuți 1886, pp. 1-5, 77-80.

with a loud voice unto Heaven, and with tears dropping down upon the earth? For I got up early and got ready, left the house, left the table, went on the road, on the pathway, strong and beautiful, pink and cheerful; but when I was in the middle of the road, of the road of the pathway, I was met by the Windmaids and by the Beautiful, who smote me in the face, hurled me to the ground, made my countenance black, covered me with dust, put the Cataract into my eyes, and left me without sight." "Be silent George, and do not cry, with tears of blood. Do not lament, and do not raise your voice, for I will heal you." The Holy Virgin from the gates of Heaven let down a golden ladder and came down upon it. She stood before George, took him by the right hand, turned his face away from the sun, and started to walk on Adam's road, to the spring of the Jordan. She met three sisters of the Sun, with three brooms, with three rakes and three hoes, with three sleeves of white silk. And the Holy Virgin as she met them, as she beheld them, stretched out her skirts and stopped them in the road; thus she asked and thus she spake. "Where are ye going, ye three sisters of the Sun?" "We are going, we are travelling to the fountain of the Lord, to clean it from the reeds and from the mud." "Do not go and do not travel, ye three sisters of the Sun; for the fountain of the Lord is clean, is limpid, as when made by God, but go and travel to clean away the blindness and the mist from the eyes of George. Clean the white cataract, the black cataract, the red cataract, the cataract of ninety-nine forms, the cataract of ninety-nine ways. Look for it in the seams of the head, in the face of the visage, look for it in the lids, round the eyes, and in the lights (the apple) of the eyes. Quickly, very quickly rake it with your rakes, cut it with your scissors, sweep it away with your brooms, peel it off with your nails, drive it away from eyes, wipe it away with the sleeves, gather it in your carry it to the threshing-floor. The threshers shall break it in a thousand pieces, shall throw it over t

into the dust, the oxen shall take it on their horns, when the oxen have taken it on their horns, they shall carry it to the sea. There it shall vanish and there it shall disappear. George shall remain clear as the shining silver and as the bright sun for ever and ever. Amen."

This charm is one of the longest and most complete in the whole range of Roumanian charms. It contains all the elements which do not occur in so complete a form in other charms; for either one incident or the other is omitted. Here the whole scenery is given. It is like a small epic poem, reciting the adventures of the man whom God afflicted with a cataract on the eyes, and the way the cure is going to be effected. The chief personage is the Holy Virgin; at her bidding some mysterious personages, here described as of a friendly character, are ordered to proceed to the patient and to drive away the illness from him. Before entering on a further examination of this charm and the conclusions to be drawn from it, I will mention two more. The first is against the "Evil Hour"; that means, according to the Roumanian belief, an evil occurrence which happens to a man unawares. The "Evil Hour" is an evil spirit which has taken possession of the man, causing contortions, spasms, and often unconsciousness. The woman who pronounces the charm does it on the fast days of the week, viz. on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, when the moon grows smaller. She then takes *Solanum dulcamara* (wood nightshade) and boils it in virgin water, and she puts into it a few drops of honey. After she has uttered the charm she gives the patient this water to drink three times a day, after which he is expected to recover. The charm is as follows:

"N. got up early, N. got ready, she left her house, left her table, strong and beautiful, well and cheerful. When she was in the middle of the road, in the middle of the path-the way, there came to meet her, stopped the road for her, the laps, Archangel Michael on a black charger, with nine bears, with quickly nine dogs, all these born, grown up, and formed on the day the wall of St. George; he held a weapon of thunder and a sword of

lightning, with which he was cutting, digging, the Evil Hour seeking, but however much he sought it was nowhere to be found but in the body of N. He found him there, he cut him up, he dug him out, and N. screamed violently, cried plaintively, but no one saw her, no one heard her, save the pure Mother, the very pure Mother. She saw her, she heard her, she came to meet her, and thus she spake to her: "Why do you scream and why do you lament?" "Oh, pure Mother, Mother very pure. Why should she not cry, why should she not lament, for when she got early ready, left her house, left her table, strong and beautiful, well and cheerful, when she was in the middle of the road, in the middle of the pathway, there came to meet her, there stopped the road for her, the Archangel Michael on a black charger with nine bears, with nine dogs, all of them born, grown up, formed on the day of St. George; he held a weapon of thunder and a sword of lightning, with which he was cutting, digging, the Evil Hour seeking, but however much he sought, it was nowhere to be found but in the body of N. He found him, he cut him, he dug him, and then . . . he cast him into the fiery furnace. He raked him out with an iron rake, he pounded him with an iron pestle, he took him out from the iron mortar, he threw him into an iron sieve, he sifted him in that sieve, he winnowed him in that iron sieve, so that nothing should remain of that Evil Hour, just as nothing remains of the dust in the road . . . N. shall remain clear, clear and shining as when her mother gave birth to her, as when God had made her; Amen, Amen, and as the bright sun. From me the charm, from God the cure."

In this charm the Holy Virgin is playing a subordinate *rôle* altogether, prominence is given to the Archangel Michael, who, according to this rather incomplete description, had been pursuing the Evil Spirit with a weapon of thunder and with a sword of lightning. Lastly, we have a third charm, which has also been recently collected from the mouth of the peasants in Roumania. The charm runs thus:

"The Archangel Michael descending on the Mount of

Olives met Avezuha, the wing of Satan, and she was dreadful to behold; the hair of her head was hanging down to the ground, her eyes were like stars, her hands of iron, the nails of her hands and feet were like sickles, and from her mouth came forth a flame of fire. The Archangel Michael, Lord over the Heavenly hosts, said unto her, 'Whence dost thou come, thou unclean Spirit, and whither art thou going?' 'I am going to Bethlehem in Judea, for I have heard that Jesus Christ is going to be born of His Virgin Mother Maria, and I am going to hurt her.' Whereupon the Archangel Michael took hold of the hair of her head, fastened an iron chain round her, stuck his sword into her side, and began to beat her terribly, in order to make her tell him all her secret arts. She began and said: 'I change myself into a dog, a cat, a fly, a spider, a raven, an evil-looking girl, and thus enter into the houses of the people and hurt the women and bring trouble upon the children, and I bring changelings, and I have nineteen names. One, Vestitza; second, Novadaria; third, Valnomia; fourth, Sina; fifth, Nicozda; sixth, Avezuha; seventh, Scorcoila; eighth, Tiha; ninth, Miha; tenth, Grompa; eleventh, Slalo; twelfth, Necausa; thirteenth, Hata;v; fourteenth, Hulila; fifteenth, Huva; sixteenth, Ghiana; seventeenth, Gluviana; eighteenth, Prava; nineteenth, Samca; and wherever these names will be found written I shall not be able to approach that house a distance of three thousand steps.' And the Archangel Michael, the Lord over the Heavenly hosts said unto her: 'I tell thee, and I conjure thee, that thou shalt have neither the power to approach the house of X. the servant of the Lord, nor to hurt his property, his flocks, or anything that belongs to him. Thou shalt go to the desolate mountains where no one lives, there shalt thou abide. Amen.' "

In this charm we have the key to the preceding one. The Evil Spirit or the Evil Hour mentioned there is a substitution for the Evil Spirit, much more accurately described in the last charm, where we see that we are dealing with a child-stealing witch. All these charms have, as already

remarked, been collected from the mouth of the people. In every case they were illiterate persons, to whom these charms could only have come by word of mouth in the form of a sacred ancient tradition; for unless the charms are endowed with a certain amount of sanctity no one would believe in their efficacy, and they would soon disappear. This has been indeed the fate which has overtaken them wherever the faith in them had been weakened.

What is now the origin of these charms? If I should follow one school of folklorists I should lose myself at once in airy speculations and see in them traces of indigenous ancient mythology. Every figure that appears in these charms would be studied as a remnant of ancient local faith, and conclusions would be drawn as to that ancient form of belief thus preserved by these mythological fragments. It is time, however, that even in the study of folklore a certain system of classification should be introduced, and that we should learn to investigate the complex which makes up the intellectual property of the people, not upon one uniform plan. We must avoid not merely the danger of generalisation, but also that of applying principles which may hold good in the elucidation of one branch of our subject to all the other branches. I will limit myself to pointing out the profound difference which must be drawn between religious theory and religious practice. It is self-understood that I apply this word "religion" in connection with folklore in the widest acceptance of the meaning of the word, namely, as "faith and belief in the reality of the things worshipped." To the former, that is to the theory, belongs, according to my classification, the whole range of legend and tale, mythology proper; whilst to the latter, that is to the practice, belongs the outward form of worship, sometimes influenced by the legend, but just as often if not more, leading an independent life. The former, that is the legendary element, is constantly changing, the latter, being the religious custom or ceremony, is abiding. Magic

survives the myth, because however much the gods may change, the way to approach them, the means employed, the formulas used remain the same. The slightest change in an invocation or an incantation, that is, in a prayer recited either as prose or as poem with the accompaniment of chants, would destroy its efficacy. No portion of it, however much misunderstood, no name in it, however barbarous it may sound, but they will be preserved with the utmost fidelity. It is true they will be corrupted by oral transmission, but that will be an involuntary and unconscious act in the mouth of the charmer or conjurer, no such change being contemplated.

The religious background will shift from time to time whenever the nation changes its religious principles, or when the magical formula has been carried from a nation professing one form of religion to another professing a different one. The gods will thus either be eliminated entirely or others will be substituted for them, but the charm itself will survive that change. But it ceases then to be any longer considered part of religious worship, it is called "superstition"; which means that which has withstood, which is held over, a fragment, or the wreckage of the ancient religion, which has managed to float on the top of the wave of human sentiment, and has thus been rescued from complete annihilation.

The efficacy of the magical formula rests, as is well known, partly on the ceremony which accompanies it, and is often of a symbolical character, but mostly on the divine names which the charm contains. I am treading here on a somewhat dangerous ground, as it might lure me on to widen the scope of this investigation. For wherever we may look, the whole range of ancient religious mysteries stands under the ban of the mysterious ineffable Name of the Divinities worshipped in those countries. We can scarcely conceive Egyptian or Assyrian, or even later Buddhist and Jaina mysteries, without being confronted with hosts of such magical names. Even the ancient Greek Eleusinian

mysteries find their explanation, according to the recent investigations of Foucart, in the assumption that the very last and most potent secret revealed to the initiated in these and in the Orphic mysteries consisted in the communication of such Names, guaranteeing them unimpeded access to the bliss of the other world. The power assigned to such names, and that is all that I wish to say in connection with these names, is, that the name of the thing represents the invisible permanent sum-total of the whole being. It is the vital force not limited to any special part of the body, it is on the contrary the very essence of that being. To know it, means, to be in direct communication with the whole unbroken vital force, enabling the man who possesses that knowledge to assume that name for himself, to identify himself with that being, and to utilise it for his own purposes. The simple name is sometimes replaced by the recital of an act, a story, or a narrative of an evil occurrence similar to that which is happening again; for the repetition of that ancient incident, and of the efficacy of the ancient experiment, is considered sufficient to produce now the same effects.

It must also be stated that the formulas used in such conjurations are of a stationary character; they change very little, the only change which takes place is merely in the application which is made of the conjuration. One divinity or the evil cause of one illness is substituted for another; a charm against blindness will be applied against sores, simply by substituting the names of these sores for those of the spirits that are believed to be the cause of blindness. One other transformation takes place, namely, an invocation is changed into a conjuration. An invocation is a prayer addressed for protection and assistance to a friendly supernatural being; a conjuration is no longer a prayer, but a threat to the evil spirits which haunt man, either to prevent them from doing harm or to remove them from the place where they are actually harmful. In the latter case the symbolical and sympathetic element prevails.

If a charm is to be complete we have thus to expect, first the epical narrative, secondly the symbolical or sympathetic incident, and thirdly the mystical names. Wherever one of these elements is missing we have at once the proof that the charm is not complete, and that it is merely a late reduced form of the primitive more ample conjuration. That these three elements are interchangeable has already been remarked; we may find two belonging to one cycle, such as the narrative and the symbolism, whilst the Names belong to a totally different charm. The various conjurations are intimately connected one with the other in that way, for one which is efficacious against one set of illness will, as already stated, be applied to another, merely by modifying the name of the illness. These are the quicksands which we must avoid in our investigation. On the other hand, we must beware of being led astray by the tributaries which mingle their waters with the main stream, viz. the various elements borrowed from different sources and amalgamated in one conjuration or in one charm. We must follow the main stream if we are to retrace the history of the modern charm and to follow up the process of a slow change through a long period of transmission, the stream flowing through the centuries. Just as the proverb is often only the ethical conclusion, the moral of a fable or tale, so do I consider the charm to be the religious resumé, the practical moral of a mythical, legendary tale.

I revert now to the Roumanian charms. The last one mentioned by me contains all the three elements, though the first, the historical, is very much curtailed. The symbolical is clear, as the Evil Spirit says she is going to steal or to hurt the new-born babe of the Virgin Mary, and as she was protected, so is this young mother to be protected and saved. Her mystical names are also given. In the charm Number II. the names have dropped out, but the fight and the symbolical element has remained, but instead of stealing or hurting children, a special form of illness is represented by the Evil Spirit; whilst the description of the

illness has been retained in the first charm together with the epical narrative, and instead of mystical names, the names of the illnesses are given in full. We shall soon be able to understand how these illnesses have crept into the charm. The meaningless names, such as in the third charm, have in some versions a definite meaning, in others popular etymology has supplied a translation to these curious names, so that in a Russian version, where almost every incident is retained, the Evil Spirit, which has there nothing to do with children or women in child-bed, is the embodiment of fever, and each name represents a different stage of that illness. We would have thus at least two distinct types to be kept asunder carefully, the child-stealing type and the fever or other illness type. However attractive this last type may be, I cannot deal with it here adequately. I will only mention, just because there appear in it so many mysterious names, the old Latin conjuration published by Vassiliev in his *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*, pp. lxvii.-viii., together with a Greek parallel of the fifteenth century. There are also other availing charms which read almost like a literal translation, and from which that element had been borrowed and amalgamated with the child-stealing type.

Passing on from the oral literature with which I have dealt hitherto to the written, we find the absolute counterpart of the last charm in manuscripts from the sixteenth century on almost to the time when it was printed for the first time in 1874. I possess no less than fourteen Rumanian manuscripts of this charm where the witch is regularly called *Avestitza*. The contents are almost identical with the last-mentioned oral charm; the names, however, differ very considerably, and in some they have a decidedly Slavonic form. In a few of these manuscripts we find now another name added to that of the Archangel Michael, namely, the holy Sisoe. The text begins with the words, "I, the servant of the Lord, the holy Sisoe, coming down from the Mount of

Olives, saw the Archangel Michael coming down from the Mount of Sion, which is the Mount of Olives. The Archangel Michael, lord of the heavenly hosts, stopped Avestitza the wing of Satan," &c. The rest is absolutely identical with the oral charm, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the oral charm is derived *directly* from the written text. In these introductory few words a connection is hinted at between this charm and another more elaborate charm, in which the saint Sisoe plays a prominent rôle, also in connection with the child-stealing spirit. The relation between these two versions, of which one I call the *Avestitza type*, which is the shorter, and the other I call the *Sisoe type*, which is the longer, has not yet been definitely settled. I hold that the shorter is independent of the longer, whilst others who have studied the question believe it to have formed originally part of the longer tale, which has then been detached from it and lives as an independent legend. We shall see, however, that the short one is the only one for which parallels exist throughout the world, whilst it is very difficult to find many parallels for the longer recension. The text has been preserved in Roumanian and in Slavonic, the former being merely a translation of the latter. In a manuscript of the middle of the last century I have found the most complete form of this longer legend, and what is more important still the direct information that it had been used as an amulet against the child-stealing witch. The written charm had thus become a talisman, an amulet to which the same efficacy had been ascribed as to the spoken conjuration. The legend reads as follows :

"The prayer of the Holy Sisoe for the little children who are killed by the Devil."

"This is to be placed in the cradle of the child and then the Devil will not come near it."

"This Saint Sisoe, with Sidor and Fidor, had waged successful wars in the country of the Arabians. He had a

sister called Meletia; she had had five children, and the Devil had stolen all the five and had swallowed them; and when Meletia was to give birth to another child, Meletia, frightened of the Devil, run away until she came to the sea shore. There she found a leaden cave covered with lead and the doors of lead, wherein she placed food for a year sufficient to keep three women, as she had taken two servants with her to attend on her. When the sixth child was going to be born she was frightened of the Devil, but God, who hearkens unto all who pray unto Him with faith, when He saw how sorely grieved and frightened Meletia was on account of the Devil, listened unto her, and He sent His angel to her brother Sisoe, and he said unto him, 'Holy Sisoe, go with the fear of God against the Devil, for he has swallowed thy sister's children.' The holy Saint Sisoe went out hunting with a large number of people. When they were in the middle of the forest a terrible storm broke out and all his companions were scattered in the forest. Sisoe wandered about at the will of God until he came to the seashore to his sister Meletia. There he cried with a loud voice, 'Sister Meletia, open the door, open the door, or else I shall not be able to escape this terrible tempest.' Meletia replied, 'I will not open the door, for I am frightened of the Devil, lest he come in and steal my child, as forty days have not yet passed since its birth.' Saint Sisoe said, 'Sister Meletia, open the door, for God has sent me to hunt the Devil.' When Meletia heard these words she opened the door, and the saint entered into the cell, bringing his horse with him. The Devil, who stood by, changed himself into a millet-grain, and putting himself inside the shoe of the horse, thus entered. Thus the Devil entered the cell. Meletia kept the child in one arm and prepared food with the other. After they had eaten and gone to sleep, the Devil got up, ran to the cradle, snatched the child up, and ran away with it along the seashore through the forests. The child was screaming very loudly.

When the mother heard the child screaming she got up quickly and felt with her hand in the cradle. When she found the cradle empty she cried aloud, 'Wake up, my brother, for the Devil has stolen my child.' Hearing his sister cry bitterly, the saint rose quickly, mounted his horse, took the lance in his hand, and began to pursue the Devil. On the way he came to a willow-tree, and he asked, 'Hast thou, O willow of God, seen the Devil passing hereby with a child in his arms?' The willow had seen them, but it said, 'I have not seen.' Saint Sisoe then cursed the willow and said, 'O wicked willow! cursed thou shalt be, thou shalt only bloom and never bear fruit.' And he went on his way until he came to a briar, and Saint Sisoe said, 'O briar of God, hast thou seen the Devil running past with a little child in his arms?' The briar had seen them, but said, 'I have not.' Saint Sisoe cursed it, saying, 'Cursed shalt thou be, O briar! thy roots shall be where thy branches ought to be; thou shalt catch at all, and tear and be cursed by all.' And Saint Sisoe went further, following the traces of the Devil, until he came to a plane-tree. 'Hast thou, O plane-tree of God, seen the Devil running past with a child?' The plane-tree said, 'I have not seen them, but I have heard singing on the road.' The saint replied, 'Blessed shalt thou be, and thou shalt stand in front of the church [probably to be used as the knocking-board or plank still in use in the East instead of church bells] to call the people to service and the sinners to repentance.' Then he went on further after the Devil, until he came to an olive-tree standing by the seashore, and he said to it, 'Olive-tree of God, hast thou seen the Devil running past with the child in his arms?' And the olive-tree replied, 'Yes, I have seen him plunging into the sea, and he is playing with the fishes of the deep.' The saint replied, 'Blessed shalt thou be, from thee shall come the holy ointment, and no church shall be without thee.' The saint dismounted from his horse by the shore of the

sea and knelt down and prayed to God ; then he threw his hook into the sea and caught the Devil by the neck. Dragging him on to the land and beating him with a fiery sword, he said unto him, ' Give me back the children which thou hast stolen from my sister.' But the Devil replied, ' How can I return them after I have swallowed them ? ' And the saint replied, ' Thou must bring them up again.' The Devil said, ' Vomit thou first the milk which thou hast sucked from thy mother's breast.' And the saint prayed to God and he vomited the milk. The Devil, seeing this, got terribly frightened, and brought at once up all the six children hale and hearty, and not hurt in the least. But the saint said, ' I will not let thee free until thou swear no longer to harm man in future.' And the Devil swore by the Lord, who created heaven and earth, that wherever he would see the name or the book of the Holy Sisoë he would have no power to harm or to hurt the people. Saint Sisoë beat him fearfully and threw him into the sea ; then taking the six children he brought them to his sister, and said unto her, ' Sister ! here are the children which the Devil had swallowed.' She received them with great joy, rejoicing over and over again. And this is now the prayer : ' O Evil Spirit ! mayest thou be killed and cursed by the terrible and glorious name of the Trinity, and by the 360 holy fathers of the Council of Nicaea. May X. remain clear and shining through the dew of the Holy Spirit as on the day in which his mother bore him ; for ever and ever, Amen.' "

This is the Slavonic and Roumanian version of the complete legend of Sisin and the Evil Spirit, identified rather vaguely with the Devil. He merely steals the children without really hurting them. Slavonic and Roumanian texts, especially of a religious and legendary character, are as a rule based upon Greek texts, and similar Greek texts have really been found to exist. Leo Allatius has published in his *De templis Græcorum*, 1645, (pp. 126-129, 133-135 ; cf.

also E. Légrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire II.*, Paris, 1881, p. xviii.) two versions of an absolutely similar legend, of which one is fragmentary, inasmuch as the beginning is missing. In this occurs a peculiar child-stealing spirit, which goes by the name of *Gelu* or *Geloo*.

The book being extremely scarce and the Greek texts of great importance for the history of this charm, I publish here the translation in full.

I.

“ . . . that he (viz. the Evil Spirit) should not get into the tower and swallow my child as he has done not very long ago. But the saints of the Lord, Sisynios and Synidores, when they saw their sister crying, they wept bitterly, and they at once bent their knees and asked God to give them the power and the strength to catch the accursed Gylo. When they got this power from God they saddled their horses and began to follow Gylo and searched the road, asking whomever they met. Coming to the willow, they asked it whether it had seen the accursed Gylo passing that way? The tree denied having seen her, and the saints cursed it, saying, ‘Thou shalt never yield any fruit, and man shall never eat any coming from thee.’ The saints then again took up quickly their walk and found the bramble, and they asked it whether it had seen the accursed Gylo flying by it. The bramble (briar) denied also having seen her, and the saints cursed it similarly, saying, ‘Thy top shall be where the roots usually are, and the roots where the top is, and thy fruit shall be useless, and no man shall live by it.’ The saints again took up their way and came to the blessed olive-tree. They asked it whether it had seen the accursed Gylo flying by, and the tree replied, ‘Ye saints of the Lord, continue your journey, for it has gone to the shore of the sea.’ Then the Saints Sisynios and Synidores blessed it, and said, ‘May thy fruit be rich, saints be lit up by it, and kings and poor

rejoice through it.' When the saints came to the shore of the sea they saw the accursed Gylo flying before them. When she beheld them, she changed into a fish; the saints changed into fishermen, and fished her up and caught her. Then she at once changed into a swallow, and the saints into hawks, pursuing her. When she saw that she could not deceive the saints, she changed into a goat's hair, and hid herself in the king's beard so that they should not recognise her. The saints came to the king, and after having greeted him they said, 'O king, we only ask one favour from thy majesty, and one wish to be satisfied; if thy majesty is willing to grant it, inform us quickly, so that our hearts may rejoice.'" 'The king replied and said to the saints, 'Whatever you wish I will grant you, for I see that you are gentle and wise persons.' The saints said to the king, 'We do not ask anything in thy kingdom but that goat's hair which is in thy beard; give it to us, and thou shalt see and wonder.' He replied, 'Take it.' The saints stretched out their hand and with extreme care they drew it out from his beard. Gylo saw that she could no longer deceive the saints, and she at once changed into a woman. When the king beheld it he was greatly astounded, and he asked the saints about it. They explained to him all that had happened, and the king wondered still more at it. The saints caught Gylo by the hair of her head, threw her on the ground, and smote her terribly, saying, 'O accursed Gylo, an end be made with thy killing of the children of Christians and of the children of the servant of the Lord.' The accursed Gylo prayed and said, 'O ye saints of the Lord, do not beat me so cruelly and I will tell you all about it.' The saints of the Lord, Sisynios and Synidores, said, 'Unless thou promise us by an oath no more to touch the children of N., the servant of the Lord, and thou return us the children of our sister Melitena, whom thou hast killed, we will not grant thee life.' And the accursed Gylo answered and said, 'If you can return in the hollow of your hand the milk which you have sucked

from your mother's breast I will return the children of Melitena. The saints lifting their eyes to heaven prayed to the Lord, and they vomited at once into the hollow of their hand something like their mother's milk, and said to the accursed Gylo, 'Here we have brought up the milk for which thou hast asked, now return the children of Melitena whom thou hast stolen as thou hast promised; if not, we shall torture thee with terrible pains.' The accursed Gylo, seeing no way of escape, brought up those very children which she had killed in the tower. The saints of the Lord smiting her terribly, said, 'An end must be made with thy killing of the children of Christians, and of N. the servant of the Lord.' "

" Then Gylo prayed to the saints and said, 'Leave me, O saints of the Lord, and do not beat me any longer, and I will tell you what to do, so that I shall no longer be able to enter their houses, and be kept away from them seventy-five miles.' 'What shall we do then, O accursed Gylo?' She replied, 'If any one write down my twelve and a half names I will not enter his house nor the house of N. the servant of the Lord who keeps this prayer, nor the wife of N. nor his children, but I will keep seventy-five miles away from her.' And the saints said, 'Tell us then those most abominable names, before we kill thee in a terrible manner.' She said, 'My first name is Gylo, the second Morrha, the third Byza, the fourth Marmaro, the fifth Betasia, the sixth Belagia, the seventh Bordona, the eighth Apleto, the ninth Chomodracaena, the tenth Anabardalea, the eleventh Psychoanaspastria, the twelfth Pædopnictria, the half Strigla.' Holy Sisynios and Synidores, help N. the servant of the Lord, his wife and their children, who hold this amulet, bind and tighten with leaden chains all earthly and airy spirits, and the accursed Gylo, so that she shall not have the power of coming near the house of N. the servant of the Lord, or his wife, or his children, either at night or at morning, either in the middle of the

night, or in the middle of the day, that every unclean spirit, every earthly and airy demon, and the abominable Gylo be kept 75 miles away from the house of N. the servant of the Lord, from his wife and his children." (Here follows a long list of saints that are invoked, whose protection is sought, and who are asked to drive away evil spirits and demons, and the charm finishes with a prayer to the Lord).

The second version is the more complete, though to a certain extent somewhat shorter; and the saints that are invoked at the end of it are totally different from those of the first version. The translation of it is as follows:—

"In the time of the Consulate of King Laurentius there lived in Ausitis or Arabia a woman called Melitena, who had seven children. They had all been snatched away by the accursed Geloo. When she found herself again with child, and the time of the birth had approached, she built a tower and fortified it from within and from without, she stored up in it food for five and twenty years (?), and she took two handmaids with her and shut herself up in that tower. The brothers of Melitena, the saints of the Lord Sisynnios and Sisynodoros, were then warring in Numeria, that is, Arabia. It so happened once, that becoming separated from their army they came to the tower in order to see their sister. When they came to the entrance, they asked with a loud voice for the gates to be opened, but Melitena refused to open the gates, saying, 'I cannot open the gates to you, as I have given birth to a child and I am frightened, I will therefore not open.' They replied and said, 'Open unto us, for we are the angels of the Lord and we carry the mysteries of the Lord.' She opened the door and the saints of the Lord entered. At the same time the Evil Spirit changed itself into a clod of earth, and fastened itself inside the hoof of one of the horses, and thus entered with them. In the middle of the night it stole the child. Melitena wept bitterly and said, 'O thou Sisynne and thou Sisynodore, what have you done unto me? For this

very reason did I not like to open the door.' The saints, lifting their hands to heaven, cried and prayed that power be granted to them over that evil demon. When they had prayed for a while, the Lord sent his angel, who said unto them, 'The Lord has heard your prayer, and has granted you power over that accursed demon.' They went out of the tower, saddled their horses, and flying as on wings, they searched and looked into every corner and nook of the Liban. Meeting a pine-tree, they asked whether it had seen the accursed one passing by? The pine-tree answered that it had not seen her. The saints replied, 'Why hast thou hidden the truth from us, and protected the accursed one? May thy stem be without roots and thy fruit dried up!' They met then the olive-tree, and said unto it, 'Hast thou seen the accursed one passing this way?' The tree replied, 'My lords, I have seen her going by this way to the sea (and she is lying?) under twenty bushes, under the heads of Fasces (?) under the marrow of children, there she is now resting.' The saints said, 'May thy fruit be blessed and used in the temples of the Lord.' They then found the accursed one at the sea-shore, and said unto her, 'The Lord commands thee through us to stay.' As soon as she beheld the saints, she ran swiftly to the sea, but they overtook her and laid hands on her. The accursed one said, 'O Sisynne and thou Sisynodore, why do you pursue me?' And the holy Sisynnios replied, 'Give us back the seven children of Melitena and we will no further molest thee.' She replied, 'If you will be able to bring up the milk which you sucked from your mother's breast, I will return you the children of Melitena.' Whereupon the saint prayed to God and said, 'O Lord, thou hast said there is nothing impossible before God, show now thy goodness also to me, so that all shall see it, and recognise that there is no God beside thee.' The holy Sisynnios at once brought up his mother's milk in his mouth, and he said to the accursed one, 'Here is my

mother's milk, return thou unto me now the seven children of Melitena.' She at once brought up the seven children of Melitena, and said, 'Ye saints of the Lord, I pray of you that ye no further molest me, and I promise that wherever this amulet (Phylacterium) be found I will not go, and wherever this will be read I will not enter, but run away a distance of sixty miles. Whoever will write down my twelve names, his house will I not hurt, nor will I enter his abode, nor harm his cattle, nor have power over his household.' The holy Sisynnios then adjured her, saying, 'I adjure thee by the name of the Lord, which the stone heard and split, by the holy Mamantios, the holy Polycarp, &c. (Here follows a long list of saints whose name is invoked, finishing with the Holy Virgin, all the saints, Amen.)'

In this shorter recension the names of the Gelu are missing and the legend is much curtailed, but in the general outlines the two represent one and the same legend.

Whatever the original meaning of "Gelu" may be, mentioned already by Hesychius, and translated as "bugbear," it is undoubtedly a female spirit killing children immediately after their birth. I connect it with the Arabic-Persian "ghoul." In the first Greek text we have thus now the real counterpart of Avestitza, the female child-stealing demon, with the mysterious names. These names are very transparent in their Greek form and easily understood. (B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, 139-40, and especially note 4.) The composite character of the first version makes me believe that the portion with the names has been introduced from the Avestitza type. Of this latter, which is of special interest to us in connection with the charm, there are a number of parallels in other literatures much older than the Slavonic and even the Greek versions. In the Hebrew literature we have at least two distinct forms. In both the demon that kills the children is the same, viz. "Lilith" the first wife of Adam and the

mother of all the evil spirits, "Shiddim," in the world. In the book called *The Mystery of the Lord* and borrowed thence on "broadsides," which are till now used as an amulet in the room where the child is born, hanging round the walls, we find the following conjuration :—

"The prophet Elijah travelled once on his way and he met Lilith and her host, so he said to her, 'O thou wicked Lilith, where art thou going with thine unclean host?' And she replied, 'My Lord Elijah, I am going to that woman who has given birth to a child, to give her the sleep of death, to take her new-born child, to drink its blood, to suck the marrow of its bones, but to leave its flesh untouched.' Elijah replied and said, 'I conjure thee with a great excommunication that thou be changed into a dumb stone by the will of God.' And Lilith said, 'My Lord, for God's sake remove the excommunication, that I may be able to flee, and I swear by the name of God that I will avoid the roads leading to a woman with a new-born child, and whenever I hear or see my names I will at once depart. And I will tell thee my names, for whenever thou utterest them, neither I nor my host have any power to enter the house of a lying-in woman to harm her. I swear to reveal to thee my names, so that thou shalt be able to write them down and to hang them up in the room where a new-born child is. And these are my names, Satrina, Lilith, Abito, Amizo, Izorpo, Kokos, Odam, Ita, Podo, Eilo, Patrota, Abeko, Kea, Kali, Batna, Talto, and Partasah. Whoever knows these my names and writes them down causes me to run away from the new-born child. Hang, therefore, this amulet up in the room of a lying-in woman.'"

This amulet is absolutely identical with the Roumanian and Russian versions of the Avestitza type; only Elijah the prophet has taken the place of the saint or saints, and of the angel Michael. The deterrent element which frightens the Evil Spirit away are the mysterious names of the Evil Spirit, which stand revealed. On the other hand, we miss here

the allusion to the changes and transformations by means of which the demon gains access to the new-born child. This proves that the Hebrew legend in this form belongs also to a comparatively modern recension.

A much older, and in some essentials different, version, appears in a book composed not later than about the tenth century. The difference is profound; the names by which the Evil Spirit is prevented from doing any harm to the new-born child are no longer her own names, but the more powerful names of the angels who subdue the Evil Spirit. The sight of their names terrifies her away, and protects those who invoke their aid against the attacks of the child-stealing witch. We are approaching to the more ancient form of conjurations, where the conjurer identifies himself with the superior powers, becomes for the time being the living representative of Osiris or of Serapis, or of Baal or of Buddha, in order to strike terror into the heart of the demons and to drive them away from human habitation.

Before reaching that stage of our investigation, I mention here the Syriac version, which also belongs to the Avestitza type. But curiously enough the saint who is persecuting and banishing the Evil Spirit got the name of the spirit shifted on to him, for I see in "Ebedishu" the parallel to "Avediasa," the form which comes nearest to the Roumanian Avestitza. The framework is up to a certain point the same, only the sympathetic or symbolical part has dropped out, namely, that the Evil Spirit has been intercepted on her way to the new-born child, and also no mention is made of the means she employs to gain access by changing her outward form. On the other hand, we have here a list of mystical names twice repeated, each time numbering twelve, as in the shorter Greek version. The manuscript from which this charm is taken, published by the Rev. Dr. H. Gollancz belongs to the fifteenth century, but the charm is certainly copied from much older texts. I reproduce it here in full :

THE ANATHEMA OF MAR EBEDISHU, THE MONK AND HERMIT.

The prayer, request, petition, and supplication of Mar Ebedishu, the Monk and Hermit of God, who was among the dumb beasts on the Friday, which is the Passion (*sc.* day) of our Lord and Redeemer, at the time when the Evil Spirit in the likeness of a hateful woman of dark appearance was coming down from the Mount of Eden, and she appeared unto him and called him by name, Ebedishu ; and he said unto her, "Who art thou?" She replied and said, "I am a woman and will be your partner." Thereupon the saintly Mar Ebedishu, as soon as he perceived that she was a wicked and unclean spirit, bound her and cursed her and tied her up, saying, "You are not empowered to show your might and strength and craft over the men-servants and women-servants of God who carry these formulæ. And, furthermore, I conjure thee by Him at whom angels and men tremble, that if thou hast any other names reveal them to me, and show me, and hide it not." She said unto him, "I will reveal it unto thee, though I desire it not. I have twelve other names. Whosoever will write them and hang them upon himself, or place them in his house, his house will I not enter, nor (approach) his children. First Miduch, second Edilta, third Mouelta, the fourth they call Lilitha and Malvitha and the strangling-mother of children (lit. *boys*)." Thereupon the saintly Mar Ebedishu, as soon as he perceived that she was an evil and unclean spirit, bound her and cursed her and tied her up, and said unto her, "You are not empowered to show your might and strength and craft over the servant of the Living God who carries these writs ; and, furthermore, I conjure thee by the One at whom angels and men tremble, that if you have any other names, reveal them to me, and show me, and hide nothing from me." She replied unto him, "I will reveal it unto thee, though I desire it not. I have twelve other names. Whosoever will write them and hang them upon himself, his house will I not enter, nor do harm unto his wife, nor unto his children, nor unto anything which he hath or will have ; my first name (is) Geos, second Edilta, third Lambros, fourth Martlos, fifth Yamnos, sixth Samyos, seventh Domos, eighth Dirba, ninth Apiton, tenth Pegogha, eleventh Zardvech, Lilitha, Malvitha, and the strangling-mother of children." Then the saintly Mar Ebedishu said unto her, "I will bind you off him

who carries these writs in the name of the God of Gods and the the Lord of Lords, and in the name of the Being who is from everlasting; may there be bound, doomed, and expelled all accursed and rebellious demons, and all evil and envious persons, and all calamities from off him who carries these writs!"

Though somewhat changed, this Syriac form has preserved the old character of the charm without limiting it absolutely to the protection against the child-stealing demon. Among the names we find also the "Lilith" of the Hebrew or better oriental tradition. To this we must revert now. As I have pointed out, the scenery has been shifted in this tradition. In lieu of the names of the demon, which, when known, afford protection to the person which possesses that knowledge, we find the names of the divine powers invoked which afford a much stronger protection. This is the true form of the old worship. Moreover the conjuration becomes a sort of invocation, a supplicatory prayer to the protecting powers, to which man, in his weakness and in his faith, turns for help against the insidious attacks of those demons against which he alone would be absolutely powerless. Even in the Greek versions of the Sisin legend we find a string of names of saints added at the end of the amulet, who are invoked to assist in the protection which the bearing of it alone should apparently suffice to secure. But double is better, and although the people have sufficient confidence in that amulet, they still strengthen its efficacy by the list of saints appended to it. In the Canonical Exorcisms used by the Catholic Church, we find also as a rule a list of holy names by virtue of which the demon is forced to obey the injunctions of the Exorcist.

In a book which goes by the name of the angel "Raziel," who is said to have revealed to Adam immediately after he left Paradise, but which in reality is a compilation made in the tenth century from much older materials, we find then the following conjuration, preceded by (ed. Amsterdam, fol. 43*b*) a list of seventy names of angels. "I conjure

thee, primitive Eve, by the name of the one who created thee, and by the names of the three angels which the Lord sent after thee, and who found thee in the islands of the sea, to whom thou didst swear, that wherever thou shalt find their names neither thou nor thine host shall do any harm, also not to those who carry those names with them. I therefore conjure thee by their names and by their seals, which are written down here, that thou do no harm, neither thou, nor thy host, nor thy servants, to this woman or to the young babe to which she has given birth ; neither during day-time nor during the night ; neither in their food nor in their drink ; neither in their head nor in their heart ; nor in their 208 members, nor in their 305 veins. I conjure thee, thy host and thy servants, with the power of these names and these seals." Under the " Primitive or Primary Eve," Lilith is understood.

We have thus the child-stealing demon living in the islands of the sea, conjured by mystical names. This conjuration is accompanied by the rudimentary reproduction of the image of three angels, whose sight is considered to be efficacious enough to drive the child-stealing demon away. Their names are given as Snoi, Snsnoi, and Smnglf. I reproduce the Hebrew spelling exactly as it stands, without the addition of any vowels. These names occur also in an ancient MS. of the twelfth century in the British Museum, filled with cabalistic texts and amulets, and in two instances invocations to these three angels are mentioned for healing in certain diseases. I see in Snoi and Snsnoi the very names of the brothers of Melitie in the European versions, viz. Sisynie and Sisyno-dores, taken over at a very early period from the East, and applied in these charms to saints instead of angels, just as the prophet Elijah becomes the Archangel Michael. We can almost fit the time of this change. Sisynie, the patriarch of the Orthodox Church in Constantinople, found it necessary in the eleventh century to explain to his people that he was not the false Sisynios of

whom the mad priest Jeremiah had written. This Jeremiah was the famous founder of the new Manichæan sect in Bulgaria, known as that of the Bogomils, from whom all the European heretical sects took their origin, such as the Albigenses, the Kathars, and others. He is specially credited with the authorship of such a conjuration in which Sisynios, the archangel Michael, and some demons are concerned. I have no doubt that it refers to this conjuration against the female child-stealing demon and to those charms which have grown out of it, such as the old charm against fever in Russia. As some of the primitive elements have been retained in that charm, I translate it here as given by Maikov, who enumerates sundry variants from various parts of Russia. "Close to the Red Sea stands a marble column, on it sits the holy Sisynie, and he sees the waters of the sea mount, lifted up to the Heavens; from the midst of the waters came out twelve women with long plaits, who say, 'We are the fevers, the daughters of Herod.' And the saint asked, 'Accursed devils, why do you come out?' They replied, 'We have come to torture mankind; those who do not rise up early and say their prayers, who do not keep the festivals, and who indulge in eating and drinking very early in the mornings.' Saint Sisynie prayed to God and said, 'Send, O Lord (thy messengers?), and save the world from these accursed devils.' And God sent two angels, Sihail and Anas, and the four Evangelists. They took hold of the fever-demons and beat them with fiery rods, and inflicted on them daily four thousand wounds. So they began to cry and to say, 'Do not torture us any longer, for wherever we shall see your holy names, or wherever they will hold your holy names in veneration, we will not approach them a distance of three miles.' And the holy Sisynie asked, 'What are your names?' The first replied, 'My name is the "Trembler."' The second said, 'My name is "Heating," as I cause the human body to burn as with fire.' The third said, 'My name is "Icy," for I cause the human body to be freezing, &c.'"

In this conjuration the demons are banished by virtue of the names of those two angels, who together with the saint make up the Trias of sacred names in the Hebrew version. Whilst the names of the demons have been fully translated, the other names did not fare so well. Sihail and Anas are undoubtedly Mihail and Satanas, written St. Anas, and are later popular corruptions of the older forms better preserved in the much older Hebrew counterpart. I see in the Hebrew Snsnoi Saint Sisynie and in Snoi, Syno-doros or Sisyno-odoros, whilst Smng has in every probability become Satanael. The Hebrew script favours the theory of such a change, as these letters and those of the word Stne are very much alike one another, and can easily be substituted one for the other. This name of Satan, as the lord of the lower world, is the very name so much in vogue among the New Manichaeans or Bogomils. The founder of this sect had only to take the Oriental form over, and change the names slightly, to make them identical with such as were known to the people, and to make them popular and efficacious. The sectarians recognised in this charm the names of a prominent saint, Sisymos, and of Satanael the primitive creator of the lower world.

Of the Oriental origin of this charm there can be no doubt. The assumption, if ever put forward, that we are dealing with a charm of old European heathen origin adopted by Jews and Christians alike, and adapted to the teachings and tenets of the followers of these religions, is contrary to facts. For we find the same charm with slight modifications in a book called the *Alphabet of Sirach*, which dates in every probability from the seventh century. Here we find the same old legend in the very form in which we expect it to appear if it is to be the older version, viz. three angels coming to the rescue of the woman with the child, and granting her immunity against the child-stealing demon, only by the mention of their names. This is the text as found in *Alphabetum Siracidis* (ed. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1858, fol. 23a):

“ The son of King Nebuchadnezzar was taken suddenly ill. The king thereupon said to Sirach, ‘ Heal my son, for if thou dost not cure him, I will kill thee.’ Sirach wrote out an amulet in perfect purity, and wrote therein the names and forms of the angels appointed over the cure, with their wings, their hands, and their feet. When the king saw that amulet, he asked, ‘ Who are these?’ Sirach replied, ‘ These are the angels who are appointed over the cure of man, and their names are Snoi, Snsnoi, Smnglf.’ (This is their history.) When God created Adam, He said it is not good for man to be alone, and He created an helpmate for him also from the earth, and called her Lilith. No sooner was she created than she commenced quarrelling with Adam and saying, ‘ I am just as good as you as we have both been created from the earth.’ When Lilith saw that she could not overcome Adam, she uttered the ineffable name of God and flew up in the air. Adam stood up in prayer and said, ‘ O Lord of the Universe, the wife which thou hast given me has run away from me.’ Whereupon the Lord sent these three angels after her to bring her back, and they said unto her, ‘ The Lord has decreed that if thou art willing to return, it be well with thee, but if not, thou must take upon thyself as punishment that each day 100 of thy children should die.’ The angels went after her and found her in the midst of roaring waters, and the very same waters where the Egyptians later on were destined to be drowned [evidently the waters of the Red Sea]. They told her God’s command, but she refused to return. So they said unto her, ‘ We must drown thee in these waters.’ But she begged of them, and said, ‘ Leave me, for I have been created for the purpose of weakening [destroying] little babes, if it be a boy, eight days from the day of his birth, and if it be a girl, that I should have power over her up to twenty days.’ When they heard her words, they urged more strongly upon her to obey, and she then said, ‘ I swear unto you by the name of the living and great God, that whenever I shall see

either you or your names or your images on an amulet I will not hurt that child.' And she took upon herself to lose every day a hundred of her children by death, therefore every day 100 Shiddim die. If we now write those names on an amulet for little children, and she sees those names, she remembers her oath and the child gets cured."

In this version we have the oldest form, containing first the historical part, then the epical element giving a minute description of the way how Lilith acquired the power to hurt children, that is, how she became a child-stealing and strangling demon, and the reason why the invocation of those mysterious three names has the effect of driving her away and of saving the patient. But even in this older form the charm is already curtailed, and proves therefore to be of far greater antiquity than even the composition of the book in which it is merely incidentally quoted. One thing at any rate is certain, viz., that it is of an Oriental origin.

It remains, however, to be seen from what source it is originally derived. The name "Lilith" points unmistakably to Babylon, and we have in these charms and conjurations the reflex of such old Babylonian charms, but hitherto no identical legend or conjuration is found among the Assyrian tablets as yet published. The figure of the child-stealing witch occurs, however, in another extremely ancient apocryphal book which goes under the name of *The Testament of Solomon*, and dates probably from the first or second century of the Christian Era. In it there are blended different currents of thought; astrological and mystical beliefs have been combined together in such a manner that it would be very difficult to fix with any precision the immediate direct source for this compilation. It represents that peculiar fusion known as Gnosticism, resting upon a Jewish basis influenced by Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greek, more especially Orphic, teachings. In chapter 57, we find now the following legend.

"And I adored the Lord God of Israel and bade another

demon present himself. And there came before me a spirit in woman's form that had a head without any limbs, and her hair was dishevelled. And I said to her, 'Who art thou?' But she answered, 'Nay, who art thou? And why dost thou want to hear concerning me? But as thou wouldst learn, here I stand bound before thy face. Go then into thy royal storehouses and wash thy hands. Then sit down afresh before thy tribunal and ask me questions, and thou shalt learn, O king, who I am.'

"And I, Solomon, did as she enjoined me, and restrained myself because of the wisdom dwelling in me, in order that I might hear of her deeds and apprehend them and manifest them to men. And I sat down and said to the demon, 'Who art thou?' And she said, 'I am called among men Obizuth, and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world and visit women in childbirth. And divining the hour I take my stand, and if I am lucky I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place, for I cannot a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce spirit of myriad names and many shapes. And now hither, now thither, I roam. And to westering parts I go my rounds. But as it now is, though thou hast sealed me round with the ring of God, thou hast done nothing. I am not standing before thee, and thou wilt not be able to command me. For I have no work other than the destruction of children and the making their ears to be deaf, and the working of evil to their eyes, and the binding their mouths with a bond, and the ruin of their minds, and paining of their bodies.'

"When I, Solomon, heard this, I marvelled at her appearance, for I beheld all her body to be in darkness. But her glance was altogether bright and cheery, and her hair was tossed wildly like a dragon's, and the whole of her limbs were invisible. And her voice was very clear as it came to me. And I cunningly said, 'Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O Evil Spirit?' But she

answered me, 'By the angel of God called Afarof, which is interpreted Raphael, by whom I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 640.' And I, Solomon, having heard this, and having glorified the Lord, ordered her hair to be bound and that she should be hung up in front of the Temple of God, that all the children of Israel as they passed might see it and glorify the Lord God of Israel, who had given me this authority with wisdom and power from God by means of this signet."

We see at once the absolute identity between this demon that visits women in childbirth and strangles the child and whose power is frustrated by the name of the angels even if only written on a woman at childbirth, with the legend of the child-stealing witch. Although in *The Testament of Solomon* we have a reflex of the Medusa legend connected with it, yet all the rest, all the principal elements that recur, either in the written or in the oral charm and conjuration, are all found here, even the allusion to the many shapes assumed by that demon. If we had a more perfect text of this old apocryphal book, the identity would be closer still if possible; for the text is undoubtedly somewhat corrupt, and can only be clearly understood if brought in connection with our cycle of legends.

Having been embodied at that time into *The Testament of Solomon*, this legend must have existed previously in an independent and fuller form. In how far the Proserpina-myth had anything to do with it I do not care to investigate, for this would merely be one of the elements. My intention in this study has been not so much to trace this idea of the child-stealing witch who strangles the children and hurts the mothers at the birth, as to follow up by means of literary tradition one of the charms that exist in modern times in the mouth of illiterate people; to show how entirely this oral charm, of absolutely popular origin in our modern col-

lections, agrees with written texts of great antiquity, and to follow this written conjuration through various literatures up to the remotest parallel to which it can be traced. My investigation has fully borne out the fact that such charms and conjurations, though forming part of modern oral folklore, had a direct literary origin, which has been in the main little impaired by the distances it has had to traverse, and which has retained the essential features of the very form in which it appeared centuries ago in books. Changes have occurred, and they assist us in the historical investigations; substitutions of one incident for another have taken place; but the whole central figure, the epical narrative, the historical background, the mysterious powerful names by which the demon is bound, nay, even the identical name occurring in *The Testament of Solomon* as "Obizuth" reminding one strongly of the Slavonic-Roumanian "Avestitza," Syriac "Ebedisha," show how little the time has changed this charm.

If this can be proved for that element in folklore which partakes of the heathen portion, and which scholars have hitherto been inclined to consider autochthonous and pre-Christian, and whose literary origin no one believed possible, but which upon a careful examination turns out to be in every detail dependent upon that literary ancient form, a similar investigation imposes itself necessarily upon the other elements, and forces us to pause before committing ourselves to any rash conclusions concerning the origin of modern folklore.

Magic and medicine have gone in ancient times, and even in modern times, hand in hand; the next step of our investigations would be to apply a similar test to some of the popular medicines, and I have not the slightest doubt that the result will be the same. Old herbals will form the intermediary link in the chain of literary tradition, the first ring of which may have been forged in Egypt or in Greece, and the last of which is represented by the

medicine that still lives as an active factor in the life of the "folk." They will be found to have continued with surprising vitality the old results obtained by the medicine man of ancient times, and to have been handed on, not so much by word of mouth, but by the more effective and more lasting written word. Our charm is in fact merely one part of the medical operation performed for the purpose of curing the patient or preserving him from the attack of the unseen but dreaded demon. It is not for us to inquire how often the demon has been scared away. Modern science is scaring our folklore much more efficaciously away.

Some might suggest that this legend and charm existed independently in the mouth of the people for many centuries, and that the texts which appear in the written literature are simply borrowed from the mouth of the people and are not interdependent upon one another. This would mean that every author has simply collected and borrowed material existing in the mouth of the people in whose midst it had originated independently; but those very minute changes which I have been able to show, and which follow one upon another in historical succession, the change of the names of angels to mysterious names of the demon, the slow change from the old to the new, and the identity of late written versions with recent oral forms, prove conclusively that they are all due to that literary tradition which some like to deny. Facts are stronger than fiction; they show that one writer is dependent upon the other writer, and that the charm has been disseminated from the East to the West by means of the written word. Whatever the primitive origin of the charm may have been, whether it rests on an ancient popular conjuration—by the way, a word much abused, as everything must commence with individuals, and not with a people—or whether it was an artificial composition by one of the learned scribes in Assyria or Egypt, I am satisfied for my part, to have followed this charm against

the child-stealing witch from the heights of the Carpathian Mountains, through Roumania, the south of Russia, the Plains of the Balkans, as far as Old Byzantium, thence to the cloisters of Syria, through Palestine, and on to the Valley of the Nile. A far-travelled charm indeed, and who knows how far it will travel still?

M. GASTER.

PRE-ANIMISTIC RELIGION.

BY R. R. MARETT, M.A.

(Read at Meeting of November 15th, 1899.)

THE object of the present paper is simply to try to give relatively definite shape to the conception of a certain very primitive phase of Religion, as Religion may for anthropological purposes be understood. The conception in question will strike many, I daresay, as familiar, nay possibly as commonplace to a degree. Even so, however, I venture to think that it is one amongst several of those almost tacitly accepted commonplaces of Comparative Religion which serve at present but to "crib, cabin, and confine" the field of active and critical research. Comparative Religion is still at the classificatory stage. Its genuine votaries are almost exclusively occupied in endeavouring to find "pigeon-holes" wherein to store with some approach to orderly and distinct arrangement the vast and chaotic piles of "slips" which their observation or reading has accumulated. Now in such a case the tendency is always to start with quite a few pigeon-holes, and but gradually and, as it were, grudgingly, to add to their number. On the other hand considerable division and sub-division of topics is desirable, both in the interest of specialised study and in order to baffle and neutralise the efforts of popularisers to enlist prejudice on the side of one or another

would-be synoptic version of the subject, based on some narrow and fragmentary view of the data as provided by current science. Nay, so essential is it to detach "workable" portions of the evidence for separate and detailed consideration, that it is comparatively unimportant whether the divisions at any moment recognised and adopted be capable of exact co-ordination in respect to one another, so long as each taken by itself is clearly marked and leads immediately to business. Thus in the present case I have ventured to call attention to a phase of early Religion which, I believe, only needs clearly marking off by the aid of a few technical designations, to serve as a rallying point for a quantity of facts that have hitherto largely "gone about loose." I have therefore improvised some technical terms. I have likewise roughly surveyed the ground covered by the special topic in question, with a view to showing how the facts may there be disposed and regimented. Choicer technical terms no doubt may easily be found. Moreover my illustrations are certainly anything but choice, having been culled hastily from the few books nearest to hand. May I hope, however, at least to be credited with the good intention of calling the attention of anthropologists to the possibilities of a more or less disregarded theme in Comparative Religion; and may I, conversely, be acquitted of any design to dogmatise prematurely about Religious Origins because I have put forward a few experimental formulæ, on the chance of their proving useful to this or that researcher who may be in need of an odd piece of twine wherewith to tie his *scopæ dissolutæ* into a handy, if temporary, besom?

Definitions of words are always troublesome; and Religion is the most troublesome of all words to define. Now for the purposes of Anthropology at its present stage it matters less to assign exact limits to the concept to which the word in question corresponds, than to make sure that these limits are cast on such wide and generous lines, as to exclude no feature that has characterised Religion at any moment in the

long course of its evolution. Suffice it, then, to presuppose that the word stands for a certain composite or concrete state of mind wherein various emotions and ideas are together directly provocative of action. Let it be likewise noted at the start, that these emotions and ideas are by no means always harmoniously related in the religious consciousness, and indeed perhaps can never be strictly commensurate with each other. Now for most persons, probably, the emotional side of Religion constitutes its more real, more characteristic feature. Men are, however, obliged to communicate expressly with each other on the subject of their religious experience by the way of ideas solely. Hence, if for no other reason, the ideas composing the religious state tend to overlay and outweigh the emotional element, when it comes to estimating man's religious experience taken at its widest. Thus we catch at an idea that reminds us of one belonging to an advanced creed and say, Here is Religion ; or, if there be found no clear-cut palpable idea we are apt to say, There is no Religion here ; but whether the subtle thrill of what we know in ourselves as religious emotion be present there or no, we rarely have the mindfulness or patience to inquire, simply because this far more delicate criterion is hard to formulate in thought and even harder to apply to fact.

Now the object of this paper is to grope about amongst the roots of those beliefs and practices that at a certain stage of their development have usually been treated as forming a single growth which is labelled Animism, or more properly Animistic Religion. It is a region hard to explore, because the notions that haunt it are vague and impalpable ; the religious sense (if such it may be called) manifesting itself in almost undeated feelings that doubtless fall to a large extent outside the savage "field of attention," and at any rate fall wholly outside our field of direct observation. Now, even where there undeniably do exist precise ideas of the savage mind for Anthropology to grasp and garner,

everyone is aware how exceedingly difficult it is to do them justice. How much more difficult, therefore, must it be in the case of the earliest dim heart-stirrings and fancies of the race, to truthfully preserve the indistinctness of the original, and yet make clear the nature of that germinal source whence our own complex beliefs and aspirations must be supposed to have arisen.

Animism as a technical term applied to Religion, calls attention to the presence of a more or less definite creed or body of ideas. According to Dr. Tylor, who presented it to Anthropology, it signifies "the belief in the existence of Spiritual Beings,"¹ that is to say, of "spirits" in the wide sense that includes "souls." A looser use of the word by some writers, whereby it is made to cover the various manifestations of what is commonly but cumbrously styled the "anthropomorphic" tendency of savage thought, will here be ignored, and a fresh expression substituted, seeing that such an extension of its meaning robs the term of its exacter and more convenient connotation, and, further, seeing that it has failed to win general recognition from men of science.

No anthropologist, of course, has ever supposed himself able fully and finally to explain the origin of the belief in souls and spirits. Indeed, with regard to absolute origins of all kinds we had best say at once with the philosopher that "Nothing is strictly original save in the sense that everything is." Dr. Tylor and others, however, have with great plausibility put forward a view as to the specifically formative source of the idea, in what has been nicknamed "the dream-theory." This theory asserts that the prototype of soul and spirit is to be sought especially in the dream-image and trance-image—that vision of the night or day that comes to a man clothed distinctively in what Dr. Tylor describes as "vaporous materiality," or, as the

¹ *Prim. Cult.* (3rd edition), i., 424.

Greenland *angekok* puts it, "pale and soft so that if a man try to grasp it he feels nothing"—*par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno*. Perhaps it is only due to Mr. Lang's latest researches¹ to say with regard to this theory that its centre of gravity, so to speak, has of late shown signs of shifting from dream to trance, so that "the hallucination-theory" might possibly now prove the more appropriate descriptive title. I shall not, however, pause to inquire whether the "thrill" of ghost-seeing is likely to have given form and character to the religious emotions of the savage, more directly or forcibly than the less unfamiliar, yet more kindly and sympathetic, appearance of "dream-faces"; nor, again, whether the practical proofs, as they may be called, of Spiritualism (which after all is but another name for Animism),² I mean clairvoyance and the like, were brought into earlier or greater prominence by normal dreamers or by abnormal "seers." It is enough for my present purpose to assume that Animism, the belief in the existence of visionary shapes, whether of the dead or *sui juris*, became with the savage at a certain stage of his development, the typical, nay almost the universal, means of clothing the facts of his religious experience in ideas and words, and the typical and all but universal theory on which he based his religious practice. And this being assumed, we reach our special problem: Before, or at any rate apart from, Animism, was early man subject to any experience, whether in the form of feeling or of thought, or of both combined, that might be termed specifically "religious"?

Let us begin by asking ourselves what was the precise ground originally covered by animistic belief. The answer, if purely tentative, is soon made. The savage as we know him to-day believes in an infinitely miscellaneous collection of spiritual entities. "To whom are you praying?" asked

¹ *The Making of Religion*, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898.

² *Prim. Cult.*, i., 426.

Hale of a Sakai chief at one of those fruit festivals so characteristic of the Malay peninsula. "To the *Hantus* (spirits)," he replied—"the *Hantus* of the forest, of the mountains, of the rivers, the *Hantus* of the Sakai chiefs who are dead, the *Hantus* of head-ache and stomach-ache, the *Hantus* that make people gamble and smoke opium, the *Hantus* that send disputes, and the *Hantus* that send mosquitoes."¹ Now are all these *Hantus*, animistically speaking, on a par, or are some original, others derived? I take it that I am at one with most orthodox upholders of Animism in supposing the *Hantus* of the dead to be the original *animæ* whence the rest have derived their distinctively animistic, that is to say ghostly, characteristics. For this view it will perhaps be enough to allege a single reason. The *revenant* of dream and hallucination in its actual appearance to the senses, presents so exactly and completely the type to which every spirit, however indirect its methods of self-manifestation, is believed and asserted to conform, that I am personally content to regard this conclusion as one amongst the few relative certainties which Anthropology can claim to have established in the way of theory. Suppose this granted, then we find ourselves confronted with the following important train of questions, yielding us a definite nucleus and rallying-point for our present inquiry: "How came an animistic colour to be attached to a number of things not primarily or obviously connected with death and the dead? What inherent general character of their own suggested to man's mind the grouping together of the multifarious classes of so-called 'spiritual' phenomena as capable of common explanation? Was not this common explanation the outcome of a common regard, a common and yet highly specific feeling or emotion? And is not this feeling related to the ideas wherein it finds as it were symbolical expression—as for example to the animistic

¹ *J. A. I.*, xv., 300-1.

idea—as something universal and fixed to something particular and transitory? ”

Now by way of answer to these questions, let me repeat, I have no brand-new theory to propound. The doctrine that I now wish to formulate unambiguously, and at the same time, so far as may be possible within the limits of a short article, to supply with a basis of illustrative fact, is one that in a vague and general form constitutes a sort of commonplace with writers on Religious Origins. These writers for the most part profess, though not always in very plain or positive terms, to discern beneath the fluctuating details of its efforts at self-interpretation, a certain Religious Sense, or, as many would call it, Instinct, whereof the component “moments” are Fear, Admiration, Wonder, and the like, whilst its object is, broadly speaking, the Supernatural. Now that this is roughly and generally true no one, I think, is likely to deny. Thus to put the matter as broadly as possible, whether we hold with one extreme school that there exists a specific religious instinct, or whether we prefer to say with the other that man’s religious creeds are a by-product of his intellectual development, we must, I think, at any rate admit the fact that in response to, or at any rate in connection with, the emotions of Awe, Wonder, and the like, wherein feeling would seem for the time being to have outstripped the power of “natural,” that is reasonable, explanation, there arises in the region of human thought a powerful impulse to objectify and even personify the mysterious or “supernatural” something felt, and in the region of will a corresponding impulse to render it innocuous, or better still propitious, by force of constraint, communion, or conciliation. *Supernaturalism* then, as this universal feeling taken at its widest and barest may be called, might, as such, be expected to prove not only logically but also in some sense chronologically prior to Animism, constituting as the latter does but a particular ideal embodiment of the former.

The appeal to fact that will occupy the rest of this paper, cursory though it must be in view of our space conditions, will suffice, I hope, to settle the matter. First, let us remind ourselves by the help of one or two typical quotations how widely and indiscriminately Supernaturalism casts its net. Thus Ellis writes of the Malagasy: "Whatever is great, whatever exceeds the capacity of their understandings, they designate by the one convenient and comprehensive appellation, *Andriamanitra*. Whatever is new and useful and extraordinary is called god. Silk is considered as god in the highest degree, the superlative adjective being added to the noun — *Andriamanitra-indrinda*. Rice, money, thunder and lightning, and earthquake are all called god. Their ancestors and a deceased sovereign they designate in the same manner. *Tarantasy* or book they call god, from its wonderful capacity of speaking by merely looking at it. Velvet is called by the singular epithet, 'son of god.'"¹ So too of the Masai, though far lower than the Malagasy in the scale of culture, the account given by Joseph Thomson is precisely similar. "Their conception of the deity," he says, "seems marvellously vague. I was *Ngai*. My lamp was *Ngai*. *Ngai* was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible,, that they at once assumed had some connection with *Ngai*."² As I have said, such quotations are typical and might be multiplied indefinitely. *Andriamanitra* and *Ngai* reappear in the *Wakan* of the North American Indian, the *Mana* of the Melanesian, the *Kalou* of the Fijian, and so on. It is the common element in ghosts and gods, in the magical and the mystical, the supernal and the infernal the unknown within and the unknown without. It is the Supernatural or Supernormal, as distinguished from the

¹ Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, i., 391-2.

² Thomson, *Masailand*, 445.

Natural or Normal; that in short which, as Mr. Jevons phrases it, "defeats reasonable expectation." Or perhaps another and a better way of putting it, seeing that it calls attention to the feeling behind the logic, is to say that it is the Awful, and that everything wherein or whereby it manifests itself is, so to speak, a Power of Awfulness, or, more shortly, a Power (though this, like any other of our verbal equivalents, cannot but fail to preserve the vagueness of the original notion).¹ Of all English words Awe is, I think, the one that expresses the fundamental Religious Feeling most nearly. Awe is not the same thing as "pure funk." "*Primus in orbe deos fecit timor*" is only true if we admit Wonder, Admiration, Interest, Respect, even Love perhaps, to be, no less than Fear, essential constituents of this elemental mood.

Now ghosts and spirits are undoubtedly Powers, but it does not follow that all Powers are ghosts and spirits, even if they tend to become so. In what follows I propose that we examine a few typical cases of Powers, which, beneath the animistic colour that in the course of time has more or less completely overlaid them, show traces of having once of their own right possessed pre-animistic validity as objects and occasions of man's religious feeling.

Let us start with some cases that, pertaining as they do to the "Unknown Without" as it appears in most direct contradistinction to the "Unknown Within," are thus farthest removed from the proper domain and parent-soil of Animism, and may therefore be supposed to have suffered its influences least. What we call "Physical Nature" may very well be "nature" also to the savage in most of its normal aspects; yet its more startling manifestations, thunderstorms, eclipses, eruptions, and the like, are eminently calculated to awake

¹ The Greek word that comes nearest to "Power" as used above is *Τέρας*. Perhaps "Teratism" may be preferred as a designation for that attitude of mind which I have termed "Supernaturalism."

in him an Awe that I believe to be specifically religious both in its essence and in its fruits, whether Animism have, or have not, succeeded in imposing its distinctive colours upon it. Thus, when a thunderstorm is seen approaching in South Africa, a Kaffir village, led by its medicine-man, will rush to the nearest hill and yell at the hurricane to divert it from its course.¹ Here we have Awe finding vent in what on the face of it may be no more than a simple straightforward act of personification. It is Animism in the loose sense of some writers, or, as I propose to call it, *Animatism*; but it is *not* Animism in the strict scientific sense that implies the attribution, not merely of personality and will, but of "soul" or "spirit," to the storm. The next case is but slightly different. The Point Barrow natives, believing the Aurora Borealis to do them harm by striking them at the back of the neck, brandish knives and throw filth at it to drive it away.² Now I doubt if we need suppose Animism to be latent here any more than in the African example. Nevertheless the association of the Aurora's banefulness with a particular malady would naturally pave the way towards it, whilst the precautionary measures are exactly such as would be used against spirits. The following case is more dubious. When a glacier in Alaska threatened to swallow up a valuable fishing stream two slaves were killed in order to bring it to a standstill.³ Here the advanced character of the propitiatory rite probably presumes acquaintance with some form of the animistic theory. It may very well be, however, that sacrifice is here resorted to as a general religious panacea without involving any distinct recognition of a particular glacier spirit. And now let us take a couple of instances where the theory behind the religious observance is more explicit. The Fuegians

¹ Macdonald, *J. A. I.*, xix., 283.

² Murdoch, *Point Barrow Expedition*, 432.

³ Peet, *Am. Antiq.*, ix., 327; an instance, however, that might be better authenticated.

abstain from killing young ducks on the ground that if they do, "Rain come down, snow come down, hail come down, wind blow, blow, very much blow." The storm is sent by a "big man" who lives in the woods.¹ Now is this Animism? I think not. What may be called a "coincidental marvel" is explained by a myth, and Mythology need be no more than a sort of Animatism grown picturesque. When, however, a Point Barrow Esquimaux, in order to persuade the river to yield him fish, throws tobacco, not into the river but into the air, and cries out "*Tuana, Tuana*" (spirit),² then here is full-fledged Animism. Meanwhile, whatever view be taken of the parts respectively played by Animatism, Mythology, Animism, or what not, in investing these observances with meaning and colour, my main point is that the quality of religiousness attaches to them far less in virtue of any one of these ideal constructions than in virtue of that basic feeling of Awe, which drives a man, ere he can think or theorise upon it, into personal relations with the Supernatural.

In order to establish the thesis that the attitude of Supernaturalism towards what *we* should call Inanimate Nature may be independent of animistic interpretations, much more is required in the way of evidence than what I have the space to bring forward here. In the case of matters so indirectly ascertainable as the first beginnings of human thought, the cumulative testimony of very numerous and varied data affords the only available substitute for crucial proof. As it is, however, I must content myself with citing but two more sets of instances bearing on this part of my subject.

The first of these may be of interest to those who have lent their attention to Mr. Lang's recent discovery of "Pure"—that is to say, *Ethical*—Religion in the wilds of

¹ Fitzroy, ii., 180.

² Murdoch, *ib.*, 433.

Australia. I have to confess to the opinion with regard to *Daramulun*, *Mungan-ngaur*, *Turndun*, and *Baiamai*, those divinities whom the Kurnai, Murrings, Kamilaroi, and other Australian groups address severally as "Our Father," recognising in them the supernatural headmen and lawgivers of their respective tribes, that their prototype is nothing more or less than that well-known material and inanimate object, the bull-roarer. Its thunderous booming must have been eminently awe-inspiring to the first inventors, or rather discoverers, of the instrument, and would not unnaturally provoke the "animatistic" attribution of life and power to it. Then Mythology seems to have stepped in to explain why and how the bull-roarer enforces those tribal ceremonies with which its use is associated, and, after the manner of Myth, to have invented schemes and genealogies of bull-roarers whose wonderful history and dreadful powers it proceeded to chronicle. Thus, for example, *Baiamai* kills *Daramulun* for devouring some of the youths undergoing initiation, but puts his voice into the wood of the bull-roarer.¹ Or *Mungan-ngaur* begets *Turndun*, who first makes the bull-roarers in actual use amongst the Kurnai, and then becomes a porpoise.² Further, Mythology is reinforced by symbolistic ritual. Figures made of logs are set up on the initiation ground to represent *Baiamai* and his wife; or the men throw blazing sticks at the women and children as if it were *Daramulun* coming to burn them.³ As for Animism, however, we never get anywhere near to it save perhaps when *Daramulun's* voice is said to inhabit the bull-roarer, or when he is spoken of as living in the sky and ruling the ghosts of the dead Kurnai.⁴ Nevertheless, despite its want of animistic colouring, a genuine Religion (if reverence shown towards supernatural powers

¹ Matthews, *J. A. I.*, xxv., 298.

² Howitt, *J. A. I.*, xiv., 312.

³ Matthews, *J. A. I.*, xxiv., 416; xxv., 298.

⁴ Howitt, *J. A. I.*, xiv., 321.

and obedience to their mandates be a sufficient test of genuineness) has sprung up out of the Awe inspired by the bull-roarer; and Mr. Lang's assertion may safely be endorsed that Animism, with the opportunities it affords for spiritualistic hocus-pocus, could serve to introduce therein a principle of degeneration only.

My other set of instances pertains to the fascinating subject of stone-worship—a subject, alas! from which I would fain illustrate my point at far greater length. Stones that are at all curious in shape, position, size, or colour—not to speak of properties derived from remarkable coincidences of all sorts—would seem specially designed by nature to appeal to primitive man's "supernaturalistic" tendency. A solitary pillar of rock, a crumpled volcanic boulder, a meteorite, a pebble resembling a pig, a yam, or an arrow-head, a piece of shining quartz, these and such as these are almost certain to be invested by his imagination with the vague but dreadful attributes of Powers. Nor, although to us nothing appears so utterly inanimate as a stone, is savage animatism in the least afraid to regard it as alive. Thus the Kanakas differentiate their sacred stones into males and females, and firmly believe that from time to time little stones appear at the side of the parent blocks.¹ On the other hand, when a Banks' Islander sees a big stone with little stones around it, he says that there is a *Vui* (spirit) inside it, ready if properly conciliated to make the women bear many children and the sows large litters.² Now, this is no longer Animatism, but Animism proper. A piece of sympathetic magic is explained in terms of spirit causation. The following case from the Baram district of Borneo is transitional. A man protects his fruit trees by placing near them certain round stones in cleft sticks. He then utters a curse, calling upon the stones to witness it: "May he who steals this fruit suffer from stones in the stomach as large as

¹ Ellis, *Tour round Hawaii*, 113.

² Codrington, *J. A. I.*, x., 276.

these." Further, suppose a friend of the proprietor wish to eat of the fruit, he will light a fire, and ask the fire to explain to the stone that nothing wrong is being done.¹ Here we seem to have simple Animatism, but it may be said to tremble on the verge of Animism, inasmuch as by itself—that is, by the mere attribution of life and will—it is unable to account for the magical powers of the stone. How this may be done with the help of Animism is shown us by the Banks' Islanders, already referred to, who, employing stones of a peculiar long shape in much the same way to protect their houses, do so on the explicit ground that the stones have "eaten ghost!"—the ghost of a dead man being not unnaturally taken as the type and *ne plus ultra* of awful power.² Not to multiply instances, let me roundly state that amid the vast array of facts relating to the worship of stones, there will be found the most divergent ideal representations of their supernatural nature and powers, ranging from the vaguest semi-conscious belief in their luckiness,³ onwards through Animatism, to the distinct animistic conception of them as the home of spirits of the dead or the unborn, or as the image and visible presence of a god; but that underlying all these fluctuating interpretations of thought there may be discerned a single universal feeling, namely the sense of an Awfulness in them intimately affecting man and demanding of him the fruits of Awe, namely respect, veneration, propitiation, service.

Passing now from the region of what we regard as the Inanimate to that of the Sub-animate and the Animate, we come first in order of upward progress to that tantalising

¹ Hose, *J. A. I.*, xxiii., 161.

² Codrington, *loc.*

³ I am afraid it may be said that I have not given sufficient prominence to that "moment" in religious feeling which corresponds to the belief in Luck. I do not, however, regard it as a specific emotion in itself, but rather as a compound of the Wonder produced by a coincidence and of sufficient Awe of the *power* therewith seemingly connected, to make it appear worth while to try to conciliate it.

theme, the worship of plants and animals. Now to a large extent this coincides with the subject of Totemism, about which I shall say little, if only because it teems with controversial matter. This much, however, I take to be now relatively certain with regard to it, that in their origin totemistic observances had a magical rather than a strictly religious import. That is to say, their object was not so much to conciliate powers in plant or animal form, as to establish sympathetic control over classes of serviceable plants and animals regarded simply as such, namely as clans or tribes very much on a par with the human ones. Now I am ready to suppose that sympathetic magic in the eyes of the savage is, primarily, no exclusive instrument of religion, but a means of causation on a level with his other methods of exerting force—just as with him talking is not confined exclusively to praying. On the other hand, I believe that the abnormal, and mysterious element in magical causation is bound to strike him sooner or later, and to call for explanation in the terms most familiar and most satisfying to primitive mysticism. Thus, in the case of Totemism, the conception of an affinity between the spirits of the plants and animals and their human clients, as effected by Transmigration or some other animistic contrivance, is sure to arise, with the result that the plants and animals by reason of their “spiritualisation” forthwith assume the plenary rank and attributes of Powers. Meanwhile, in order to show how this may come about, I shall bring forward one or two illustrations that have no direct connection with Totemism, as they will then at the same time serve to call attention to the qualities that constitute an intrinsic as opposed to a merely derivatory right to be revered as Supernatural and Awful. There are many animals that are propitiated by primitive man neither because they are merely useful nor merely dangerous, but because they are, in a word, uncanny. White animals (for example, white elephants or white buffaloes), birds of night (notably the owl), monkeys, mice, frogs, crabs,

snakes, and lizards, in fact a host of strange and gruesome beasts, are to the savage, of their own right and on the face of them, instinct with dreadful divinity. To take a single instance, a fishing party of Crees catch a new and terrible-looking kind of fish. It is promptly returned to the water as a *Manitou*, and five days are wasted whilst it is being appeased.¹ Now in the case of Powers like these, sympathetic magic will naturally suggest the wearing of tooth or claw, bone or skin as a means of sharing in the divine potency. Here is the chance for Animism to step in. Thus a Kennaiah chief who wishes to wear the skin of the Borneo tiger cat for luck in war, will wrap himself in it, and before lying down to sleep will explain to the skin exactly what he wants, and beg the spirit to send him a propitious dream.² Or in other cases mere association and coincidence will pave the way towards an animistic version of the facts. Thus I have no doubt that it is the uncanny appearance of the snake, combined with its habit of frequenting graves and of entering dwellings, which has led more than one savage people to treat it as the chosen incarnation of their ancestral ghosts.³ And here let me leave this part of the subject, having thus barely touched upon it in order to confirm the single point that Religious Awe is towards Powers, and that these are not necessarily spirits or ghosts, though they tend to become so.

At length we reach what I have roughly described as the proper domain and parent-soil of Animism, namely the phenomena that have to do with dream and trance, disease and death. Here the question for us must be, "Do Supernaturalism and Animism originally coincide in respect to these phenomena?" Or, in other words, "Is the Awful in each and all of them alike, primarily soul or spirit?" My

¹ Hind, *Red River Exped.*, ii., 135.

² Hose, *J. A. I.*, xxiii., 159.

³ "Zulus," Macdonald, *J. A. I.*, xx., 122. "Malagasy," Sibree, *J. A. I.*, xxi., 227.

own belief is that the two spheres do not originally coincide, that the Awful in dream and trance is at first distinct from the Awful in death and disease, though the former readily comes to overlay and colour the latter. Thus I conceive that the trance-image, alike on account of its singularity, its accompaniments in the way of physical no less than mental derangement, and its coincidental possibilities, must have been originally and of its own right Awful; and that so, though perhaps to a lesser extent, must have been the dream-image, if only on the ground last mentioned. Nor would I deny that, in regard to death, these two kinds of vision taken together would be bound to suggest to the savage mind that there is a something which survives the body. But have we here a complete account of the influences whereby there is produced that mingled fear and love of the dead which culminate in Manes-worship? I think not. For one thing, it is almost an axiom with writers on this subject, that a sort of Solipsism, or Berkleianism (as Professor Sully terms it as he finds it in the Child), operates in the savage to make him refuse to recognise death as a fact, there being at any rate plenty of proof that he is extremely unwilling to recognise the fact of natural death. The influence, however, which I consider most fundamental of all is something else—namely the awfulness felt to attach to the dead human body in itself. Here, I think, we probably have the cause of the definite assignment to a passing appearance like the trance-image of real and permanent existence in relation to a dead owner; and certainly the main source of the ascription of potency to the soul thus rendered substantive. The thrill of ghost-seeing may be real enough, but I fancy it is nothing to the horror of a human corpse instilled into man's heart by his instinct of self-preservation. In confirmation of this view I would refer to the mass of evidence dealing with the use of human remains for purposes of protective or offensive magic. A skull, a human hand, a scalp-lock, a

portion of dried and pounded flesh are potent medicine *in themselves*, so long as sympathetic magic is at the stage at which it takes itself for granted. Magical processes, however, as we have seen, specially invite explanation. What more natural then, given an acquaintance with the images of trance and dream, than to attribute the mysterious potency of a dead man's body to that uncanny thing his wraith? Let me quote just one instance to show how easy is the transition from the one idea to the other. A young native of Leper's Island, out of affection for his dead brother, made his bones into arrow-tips. Thereafter he no longer spoke of himself as "I," but as "we two," and was much feared.¹ The Melanesian explanation was that he had thus acquired the *mana*, or supernatural power, of the dead man. Clearly it is but a hair's breadth that divides the *mana* thus personified from the notion of the attendant ghost, which elsewhere so often meets us.

There remains the difficult question whether Animism is primarily, or only derivatively, connected with the religious Awe felt in the presence of most kinds of disease. I am disposed to say "*distinguo*." As regards delirium, epilepsy, and kindred forms of seizure, the patient's experience of hallucinatory images, combined with the bystanders' impression that the former is, as we say, "no longer himself," would, I think, wellnigh immediately and directly stamp it as a case of possession by a spirit. Then all convulsive movements, sneezing, yawning, a ringing in the ear, a twitching of the eyelid, and so on, would be explained analogously. On the other hand there is a large and miscellaneous number of diseases that primitive man attributes to witchcraft, without at the same time necessarily ascribing them to the visitation of bad spirits. Thus a savage will imagine that he has a crab or a frog, some red ants or a piece of crystal, in his stomach, introduced by magical means, as for instance by burying the crab (perhaps with

¹ Codrington, *J. A. I.*, xix., 216-7.

an invocation to the crab-fetish)¹ in his path. To remedy such supposed evils the native doctor betakes himself to the sucking cure and the like, whilst he meets spirits with a more or less distinct set of contrivances, for instance the drum or rattle to frighten them, and the hollow bone to imprison them. Meanwhile Animism undoubtedly tends to provide a general explanation for all disease, since disease to the savage mind especially connotes what may be described as "infection" in the widest sense, and infection is eminently suggestive of the workings of a mobile aggressive agency such as spirit appears intrinsically to be. Let me briefly refer, however, to one form of malady which all the world over excites the liveliest religious Awe, and is yet, so far as I know, but rarely and loosely connected with Animism by savage theorists. The horror of blood I take to be strictly parallel to the horror of a corpse already alluded to; and I believe that in what Westermarck has termed the "mystic detestation" of woman, or in the unreasoning dread which causes a North American brave with a running sore to be banned from the camp,² we have a crucial case of a pure and virtually uncoloured religious feeling. The issue of blood "pertains to Wakanda," as the Omahas said.³ That is the primary vague utterance of Supernaturalism; and strictly secondary, I conceive, and by way of *ex post facto* justification, is the belief in the magical properties of the blood, the theory that the blood is the life, or the Maori notion that it is full of germs ready to turn into malicious spirits.⁴

At this point my list of illustrations must come to a close; and it therefore only remains for me to utter a last word in my own defence for having called attention to a subject that many will be ready to pronounce both trite, and at the same time incapable of exact or final treatment.

¹ Conolly, *J. A. I.*, xxvi., 151.

² Adair, *Hist. of Am. Ind.*, 124.

³ Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 267.

⁴ Cf. Tregear, *J. A. I.*, xix., 101.

As regards the charge of triteness, I would only say that a disregarded commonplace is no commonplace at all, and that disregard is, anthropologically speaking, to be measured by the actual use to which a conception is put when there is available evidence in the shape of raw facts waiting to be marshalled and pigeon-holed by its aid. I do not find that the leading theorists have by the organisation of their material shown themselves to be sufficiently aware that the animistic idea represents but one amongst a number of ideas, for the most part far more vague than it is, and hence more liable to escape notice; all of which ideas, however, are active in savage religion as we have it, struggling one with the other for supremacy in accordance with the normal tendency of religious thought towards uniformity of doctrinal expression. On the contrary, the impression left on my mind by a study of the leading theorists is that animistic interpretations have by them been decidedly overdone; that, whereas they are prone in the case of the religions of civilisation to detect survivals and fading rudimentary forms, they are less inclined to repeat the process when their clues have at length led them back to that stage of primitive thought which perforce must be "original" for them by reason of the lack of earlier evidence, but is not in the least "original" in an absolute sense and from the standpoint of the racial history.

As for the charge of inconclusiveness, this might be in point were it a question of assigning exact limits to the concept to which the word Religion, as employed by Anthropology, ought to correspond. As I have said, however, the only real danger at present can come from framing what is bound to be a purely experimental and preliminary definition in too hard-and-fast a manner. Thus Mr. Frazer, though he is doubtless well aware of all the facts I have cited, prefers to treat of Magic and Religion as occupying mutually exclusive spheres, whilst I regard these spheres, not indeed as coincident by any means, but still as over-

lapping. I, on the other hand, would hold out for the widest possible rendering of the idea of Religion on practical and theoretical grounds alike. As regards the former, I should fear to cut myself off prematurely from any group of facts that might possibly bear upon the history of man's religious evolution. As regards theory, I would rest my case on the psychological argument that, if there be reason, as I think there is, to hold that man's religious sense is a constant and universal feature of his mental life, its essence and true nature must then be sought, not so much in the shifting variety of its ideal constructions as in that steadfast groundwork of specific emotion whereby man is able to feel the supernatural precisely at the point at which his thought breaks down. Thus, from the vague utterance of the Omaha, "the blood pertains to Wakanda," onwards through Animism, to the dictum of the greatest living idealist philosopher "the Universe is a Spiritual Whole," a single impulse may be discerned as active—the impulse, never satisfied in finite consciousness yet never abandoned, to bring together and grasp as one the *That* and the *What* of God.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1900.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Sidney Hartland) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced, viz.: Mr. R. Blakeborough, Mr. E. im Thurn, Mr. Bernard Hamilton, Mr. P. J. Heather, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, and Mr. Ralph Shirley.

The deaths of Mr. J. Kermack and Mrs. C. M. Layton and the resignations of Mr. A. H. Diack and Mr. J. F. Gomme were also announced.

The President exhibited the following : Dentalium shells from the North West Coast of America, used by the tribes of British Columbia for currency and ornament, which had been sent by Mr. W. Corner, of Wellington, Somerset, and presented by him to the Society ; a photograph of a bas-relief at Welton Farm House, Blairgowrie, with a note thereon by Mr. E. K. Pearce, by whom the photograph had been taken (*infra*, p. 211) ; an engraving by W. Woollett representing a tropical scene, and a water-colour drawing representing a dance of native Australians, said to have been painted by a native Australian, sent by Mr. Emslie. A vote of thanks was accorded to the contributors.

The following books and pamphlets, presented to the Society since the last Meeting, were laid upon the table, viz. :—

Superstizioni, Pregiudizi, e Tradizioni in Terra d'Otranto, by Giuseppe Gigli ; *Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Aborigines*, based on material in the U. S. National Museum, by Joseph D. McGuire ; *Te pito te Herina, known as Rapa nui, commonly called Easter Island, South Pacific Ocean*, by George H. Cooke ; *The Man's Knife among the North American Indians*, by Otis Tufton Mason ; and *Arrowheads, Spearheads, and Knives of Prehistoric Times*, by Thomas Wilson, all presented by the President ; *Lud, Organ Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego we Lwowie*, Tome vi., Part 1 ; the following pamphlets by Dr. R. Lasch, all presented by the author, viz. : *Über Geophagie* ; *Religiöser Selbstmord und Seine Beziehung zum Menschenopfer* ; *Rache als Selbstmordmotiv* ; *Die Behandlung der Leiche des Selbstmorders* ; and *Der Selbstmord aus Erotischen Motiven bei den primitiven Völkern* ; and *Contes populaires de Languedoc*, by Louis Lambert, presented by Mrs. Janvier.

Professor Haddon delivered a lecture on the "Toys and Games of Papuan Children," which was illustrated by lantern slides ; after which Dr. W. H. R. Rivers and Mr. Ray

gave some illustrations of the game of Cat's Cradle as practised by the Papuans. Votes of thanks were accorded to Professor Haddon for his lecture and to Dr. Rivers and Mr. Ray for their exhibition.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21st, 1900.

Mr. G. L. GOMME, Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The resignations of Comte de Charencey and Mr. J. Barwell were announced. The election of Judge F. Baker was also announced.

Miss Grove exhibited some photographs of Bacchanalian dances on sarcophagi at Rome and Pompeii.

The Secretary read a note by Miss E. Skeffington Thompson, on the First-Foot Superstition in Lancashire (*infra*, p. 220), upon which the Rev. E. W. Clarke and Mr. Emslie offered some observations.

Mr. E. K. Chambers read a paper entitled "The Feast of Fools," and in the discussion which followed Mr. Emslie, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, the Rev. E. W. Clarke, and the Chairman took part.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Chambers for his paper.

The following short papers were also read :—

"Notes on Korean Folklore," by the Rev. J. S. Gale;
"Horses' Heads, Weathercocks, &c.," by Mr. N. W. Thomas;
"The Bumble Bee in Folklore," by Miss M. Peacock; and a note on the Japanese legend of Ama Terasu, by Miss Louise Kennedy.

OBITUARY.

LIEUT.-GENERAL AUGUSTUS PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.S.A., ETC.

GENERAL PITT-RIVERS died on May 4th last. This Society did not directly receive from him assistance in its labours, but it owes a deep debt of gratitude nevertheless to his encouragement and work in subjects kindred to folklore. It was only last Easter that Mrs. Gomme and I, in company with Dr. Haddon, visited the scene of General Pitt-Rivers' life-work in Dorsetshire, and we were deeply impressed with the evidences of one man's achievements. Everywhere is care for the past memorials of the district, in their relationship to educational work, self-evident. Not the smallest detail is forgotten, and students and casual visitors alike are reminded constantly of what has been done for their benefit. Dr. Haddon and I had a moment's brief interview with the dying general. I could not but notice that the publications of our Society were conspicuously placed on the book-shelves adjoining his room.

General Pitt-Rivers was formerly known as Colonel Lane-Fox. He served in the Crimea, and was afterwards attached to the School of Musketry at Hythe, where his energy and remarkable ability were used to perfect this branch of the military schools. Men who knew this young officer of the Guards there were struck with the fact that, unlike his fashionable brother officers, he took his profession seriously and worked hard. Besides his military work he found time to collect a museum of anthropological objects, which, when it grew too large for private ownership, he generously presented to the University of Oxford.

In 1880 Colonel Lane-Fox inherited the Rivers estates in Dorsetshire, and he at once took up the work of exploration. In 1881 he began systematic work, employing a staff of assistants, and excavating in a manner which no archæologist had ever done before. The records of his great work are contained in four

magnificent quarto volumes, which he printed privately and presented to students and friends. These volumes are a perfect model of research, and I do not think the "relic tables," which are compiled with extraordinary minuteness, can be too highly treasured. But valuable as these volumes self-evidently are, their true value is hardly appreciated until one visits the museum at Farnham, where the objects are stored, classified, and arranged in such a manner that they at once speak out their story. In the same rooms where the objects are exhibited are plans of the places where the finds have been made, together with the most perfect models, showing first the site as it was before being excavated, and secondly the result of excavations. The whole work is a marvel of magnificent research. Not only, however, does the museum contain the objects discovered on the estate, but also great collections of domestic, agricultural, and other objects, implements, tools, and what not, arranged so as to show the line of developement from the crudest types to the modern forms. Perhaps one of the most interesting examples is afforded from the local manufacture of roofing tiles. It is of a singular pattern, but by placing the modern production side by side with older examples we gradually reach the prototype, which is seen to be the Roman tiles discovered on the sites of Roman villas in the neighbourhood. Another most interesting group for study is the wedding apparel of the East European peasantry. But indeed there is hardly any part of the museum which is not of the highest value. Folklore objects are not absent, and Mrs. Gomme made a note of them for the Society, and photographs have been kindly promised by the curator.

General Pitt-Rivers held the almost thankless office of Inspector of Ancient Monuments, under the Ancient Monuments Act, which we owe to Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock). He tried to make landowners see their duty in this respect as he saw his ; but, alas ! here he failed for the most part.

Apart from archæological work, General Pitt-Rivers did great things for the inhabitants of his part of the country, and nothing delighted him more than to see the people at the sports instituted by him at the Larmer Grounds on Whit Monday. He met opposition, as he met every difficulty, by overcoming it. One class of opposition was on account of his museum being opened on Sunday, but he laughed it down in characteristic fashion, and

one felt how grand was this energetic, masterful mind, this kindly, generous heart, who, in collecting objects of art and antiquity, and in working at archæological discoveries for his own delight and pleasure, placed the results unreservedly at the disposal of all who cared to step aside from the beaten track and visit this great museum in the midst of green fields and charming country.

LAURENCE GOMME.

NOTICE.

THE BA-RONGA.

(Vol. x., pp. 225-227.)

In view, especially, of the public interest in South Africa, and of the questions relating to the native races which will be involved in the settlement after the war, Members of the Society are reminded of M. Junod's two important works on the Ba-Ronga reviewed last year in these pages, namely, *Les Ba-Ronga, Étude Ethnographique sur les Indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa*, and *Les Chants et les Contes des Ba-Ronga*.

As previously announced, a few copies have been placed by the author in the Secretary's hands for issue to Members at a reduced price—*Les Ba-Ronga* at 6s., and *Les Chants et les Contes* at 3s.

REVIEWS.

THE ABORIGINES OF TASMANIA. By H. LING ROTH. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Halifax: F. King & Sons. 1899. 21s. nett.

By an unfortunate oversight the second edition of Ling Roth's *Aborigines of Tasmania* has remained unnoticed till now, but this by no means implies that the book has been unread by us. Nine years ago Mr. Ling Roth published a very valuable summary of all the accounts he could collect, after a diligent search, of the ethnography and physical characters of the extinct aborigines of Tasmania. The chief fault that could be found with it was that the edition was limited to 200 copies, which, deservedly, was very soon exhausted. Of the present edition only 225 copies have been printed. Apparently Mr. Roth distrusts the interest of the general public in his book, for no scientific man could wish a useful work to have an enhanced value on account of the paucity of numbers published.

It is of immense convenience to students to have all the available information about a given people collected and condensed in this manner, especially as full references are given for every statement.

The Tasmanians were perhaps the most primitive of recent men, hence the importance of gaining an accurate conception of their appearance, handicrafts, customs, and thoughts. Unfortunately these poor, persecuted people were never adequately studied, and there are but scanty and insufficient accounts of their customs and thoughts. Not only were these people still in their stone age, but they were in a "palæolithic" stage; indeed, Professor E. B. Tylor goes so far as to state that "judged by general character, their nearest old world relatives seem to be those oldest and rudest palæolithic implements, the plateau-flints of Kent. To enforce this comparison, I may add that it agrees with the opinions of the late Sir J. Prestwich and of General Pitt-

Rivers." On the other hand, some of the implements show considerable skill in stone chipping.

As an example of the improvement of the second edition over the first, we may take the section on "Fire." In an appendix the author comes to the conclusion that only the stick-and-groove method of making fire was undoubtedly used; the fire-drill process is doubtful, although two reputed Tasmanian specimens of fire-drill and socket-stick are known and figured by him.

Mr. Roth writes: "It is said that in straightening their spears the natives used their teeth as a vice to hold them." It is a pity Mr. Roth did not give a copy of, or even allude to, the spirited etching of an unmistakable Tasmanian doing this very thing, which was "etched and published by B. Duterrau, August 24, 1835, Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land." This must surely have been amongst the earliest of Australasian engravings.

Additions have been made in the linguistic section of the book and also in that dealing with physical anthropology or anthropography. The following is Mr. Roth's opinion concerning the origin and affinities of the Tasmanians: "It would therefore appear that, from comparisons made between Tasmanians and Negritos, we find close relationship as regards the osteology, the hair, and the language, and we are, perhaps, not far wrong in concluding that this Nigritic stock once peopled the whole of the Australian continent and Tasmania, until annihilated and partly assimilated by the invaders now known as Australians . . . we find Tasmanoid features (hair, shape of skull, unground stone implements) amongst the Australians, but no Australoid features (lank or curly hair, throwing stick, hafted ground stone implements, boomerangs, and shields) among the Tasmanians."

The artistic autotype plates of the first edition have been replaced by excellent, but less pleasing, half-tone blocks, otherwise the second edition is a decided improvement on the first, and Mr. Roth is to be complimented on having further earned the gratitude of anthropologists and also on having produced a volume which is well printed and illustrated.

A. C. HADDON.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT, 1898: BEING PART OF APPENDIX TO
THE REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, ONTARIO.
Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly. Toronto:
Warwick Brothers & Rutter, 1898.

THE greater part of this Report by Mr. David Boyle, Curator of the Museum at Toronto, is occupied by an account of the pagan Iroquois on the Grand River Reserve in Canada. After an outline of the myth of Joskeha and Tawiskara, and some observations upon it, the author abstracts from Mr. James Mooney's monograph, published by the Bureau of Ethnology, on the Ghost Dance Religion, an account of the prophets and religious movements among various Indian tribes, beginning with the Delaware prophet who appeared in 1762. He points out that before the Discovery from time to time men arose "claiming superior knowledge respecting the performance of rites, the movements in dances, the singing of songs, the interpretation of dreams, the existence and power of spirits, and the influences of natural phenomena." Holding the opinion that the Indian had no belief in a Supreme Being before contact with white men, the author attributes to this contact very much of the tone and tenour of the teaching of prophets during the historical period. He then, following Morgan and an article by the Rev. Dr. Beauchamp in the *Journal of American Folklore* for 1897, supplemented by his own inquiries on the Grand River Reserve, and interspersed with critical remarks, narrates the story of the revelation in 1790 to Ska-ne-o-dyo, of whom the pagan Iroquois whose ceremonies he is about to describe are followers. The object of this revelation was evidently the preservation of the Iroquois from contamination by the vices and the blood of the white men, and their propagation and perpetuation as a people. Mr. Boyle then proceeds to describe a number of festivals at which he has been present, beginning with the Midwinter Festival and including the interesting ceremony of the Burning of the White Dog. The result of his inquiries is to leave the original motive and meaning of this rite in doubt. The dog seems either to have been a messenger or a vicarious offering, perhaps to the sun. At the present day, however, there can be little question, after reading Mr. Boyle's translations of the songs and speeches, that it is a sacrifice to the Great Spirit.

Among the secret societies of the pagan Iroquois the most

interesting are those of the False Faces. They are intended to appease certain evil spirits lurking in the rocks and hollow trees and to counteract their malign influences. These spirits appear to consist of horrible faces and to have power to inflict bodily ailments and to send diseases among the people. They are, in fact, the Flying Heads, well known to readers of Dorman and other writers on American superstitions. Mr. Boyle had great difficulty in ascertaining the existence of any such society among the Indians on the Reserve, though it was admitted that False Face (masked) dances took place. His perseverance, however, was at last rewarded, and he has been enabled to give a number of particulars about these societies and also two versions of the legend of their foundation. If the legend has been correctly transmitted from ancient times it is clear that not only is Rawen Niyoh, the Creator, not supreme, but that Ak'onwarah, the False Face, is his equal in power, and that neither the latter nor the other two False Faces (who are called his brother and his cousin) were made by the Creator.

The author has something also to say concerning other customs of the pagan Iroquois on the Reserve, their dress, dwellings, and sanitary condition; he relates several of their legends; he has procured the music of their ritual songs; he discusses the effect of a mixture of blood upon the character and physical features of the half-breeds; and he gives a number of portraits, beautifully reproduced from photographs, of Indians of pure and mixed blood, some of them in ceremonial costume, with views of their dwellings and other illustrations of their life on the Reserve, also sketches of their masks, diagrams, and the like. His Report thus forms an important record for purposes both of government and science. The museum of which he is the curator is a government institution of the Province of Ontario, and belongs to the Education Department. Under the administration of the Hon. Dr. Ross, as Minister of Education,¹ it has been greatly developed. Such reports as this are a justification of Dr. Ross's enlightened policy, and are an example which, it is to be hoped, the mother-country will speedily follow in the ethnological department recently created in connection with the British Museum.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

¹ Now (1900) Premier of Ontario.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT, 1899: BEING PART OF APPENDIX TO
THE REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, ONTARIO.
Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly. Toronto :
Warwick Brothers & Rutter, 1900.

IN the foregoing pages I have drawn the attention of readers of *Folk-Lore* to Mr. Boyle's interesting Report for 1898. He has followed it with a Report for 1899, as interesting and in many respects as valuable. An excellent figure of an Iroquois medicine-man's mask, recently obtained for the museum, is given, together with a variant of the myth of the origin of the False Faces. Mr. Boyle made another journey in the previous September to the Iroquois Reserve, to learn further details connected with the ceremonies, especially those relating to the gambling games. These are all recorded.

Included in the Report is a monograph on the Wyandots, by Mr. W. E. Connelley. To this monograph special importance is, I think justly, attached by Mr. Boyle, for it is the outcome of twenty years' study of the Wyandots and their language. According to the author's information, the Wyandots originally called themselves the Turtle People. The ancient, not necessarily the original, divisions of the tribe were—

“First division : 1, Bear ; 2, Deer ; 3, Snake ; 4, Hawk.

“Second division : 1, Big Turtle ; 2, Little Turtle ; 3, Mud Turtle ; 4, Beaver ; 5, Porcupine ; 6, Striped Turtle ; 7, Highland Turtle, or Prairie Turtle.

“Mediator, executive power, umpire, the wolf.”

The wolf, it seems, never belonged to either division, or phratry, “bearing the relation of cousin to each of them.” The wolf clan had the right to elect and depose the chief of the tribe. The clans of each division, or phratry, bore the relation of brother to each other. Consequently marriage was prohibited between them, though this law had been modified so as to prohibit marriage only between members of the same clan, at a time before the Methodist missionaries went among them.

The unit of the social and political system “was not the family, nor the individual, but the clan. The child belonged to its clan first, to its parents afterwards. Each clan had its list of proper names, and this list was its exclusive property, which no other clan could appropriate or use. . . . When death left unused any of

the original clan proper names, the next child born into the clan, if of the sex to which the temporarily obsolete name belonged, had this name bestowed upon it." Here we are led to wonder whether the child was regarded as a new incarnation of the deceased owner of the name. The Hurons, we know, believed in re-birth; and the Wyandots, though perhaps in the main Iroquoian, had relations with the Hurons, and probably had Huron blood in their veins.

I must refer members of the Society who are engaged in the study of early beliefs and institutions to the Report itself for the details of Wyandot organisation, names, and myths which it contains. Nor does the interest of the Report stop with Mr. Connelley's monograph. Mr. Boyle has taken great pains in collecting pagan Iroquois songs, and the graphophone has been utilised for this purpose. The music of no fewer than forty-seven songs is recorded in these pages. Mr. Alexander T. Cringan, a musical expert, has superintended their transcription from the graphophone cylinders, and has written a commentary upon them.

A passing mention must suffice for Mr. A. F. Hunter's account of Huron village sites in the township of Tay (Simcoe County), Mr. Boyle's own explanation of the mounds in Pelee Island, and other archæological work in the narrower sense of the term, since they do not specially concern the Folk-Lore Society. But it must not be supposed that they will not well repay an anthropological reader.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE SAGA OF KING SVERRI OF NORWAY. Translated by
J. SEPHTON, M.A. London: D. Nutt. 1899. (Northern
Library, Vol. IV.).

FOR the folklorist the new volume of the Northern Library does not possess the interest of the earlier one by the same translator. The saga of Olaf Tryggvason and that of Sverri are works of a very different type; the one resting upon traditions from which the lapse of time had cleared away unessential details and given

free scope to the imagination of the story-teller; the other a work of historic accuracy, in which names and incidents are so numerous that they often tend (as in *Sturlunga*) to confuse the reader and obscure the main issue. Hence Olaf is a heroic, almost mythic, figure; Sverri is only a remarkable personage in the medieval history of Norway. In consequence of this, there is perhaps a little danger that some readers of the book may agree with the preface by the priest Magnus, when he says, "Now, this narrative will seem to many tedious enough;" but Mr. Sephton has certainly, by his smooth and readable translation, made the path as inviting as possible for those who might have such an opinion, while those who find an interest in the struggles and final triumph of a brave warrior and intelligent statesman, will not be disappointed with the story of King Sverri.

In the introduction Mr. Sephton explains briefly and clearly the state in which the text of the saga now exists. As a rule, every MS. of a saga represents a fresh recension, and this is the case here. Unfortunately, we think, Mr. Sephton has followed the example of the editors of *Fornmanna Sögur* in endeavouring to construct a complete text out of the different versions. It is quite true that a genuine passage may exist in only one MS., and that it would be a loss to omit it, but it does not necessarily follow that it ought to be inserted in the text. The only satisfactory way is to translate one definite version, and give the variations of the others either within brackets or as footnotes. This would not only have made clear the relation of the different versions to each other, but would have saved the reader from referring to the *Introduction* or the *Notes on Some Readings* (pp. 261-268) to find out the exact authority for any statement.

As indicated above, the saga is a piece of pure history, unmixed with legendary elements (the numerous dreams are hardly exceptions to this), and therefore wanting in some of the interest which attaches to the more characteristic Icelandic writings. The author, Abbot Karl, was contemporary with the events he narrates, and his authority for the earlier part of the saga was Sverri himself. With regard to Karl's work, and the general character of the saga, we miss any reference to Professor Finnur Jónsson's *Den oldnorske . . . Literaturs Historie* (vol. ii. pp. 386-394), where there are some interesting remarks on the subject.

One of the chief attractions of *Sverris Saga* in the original lies

in the spirit and liveliness of the diction, part of which is probably due to Sverri's own manner of speech. To render racy and idiomatic Icelandic of this type into good English is no easy task, but Mr. Sephton has come well out of it, and it is probably as much the fault of modern English as of the translator if the simplicity and directness of the original sometimes disappear in the translation. Even at this cost, we think Mr. Sephton's style preferable to the more literal and archaic manner affected by some translators, an easy method whereby natural Icelandic is converted into altogether unnatural English. In very few cases can serious objection be taken to Mr. Sephton's renderings of Icelandic words: examples are, however, the use of "cabin" for *rúm* (p. 71), or "a twenty-five cabined vessel" for *hálfþrítugt skip*, a ship of fifty oars, or "village" for *bygð*, an inhabited district (p. 104; it consisted of 100 farms in a dale of considerable length). The one point in which Mr. Sephton has fallen below his usual level is that in which translators of sagas seem to have agreed to fail, viz. in rendering the verses. There are few of them in *Sverris Saga*, and these not very remarkable, but they lose even what merit they have when their metrical elaboration disappears; a primitive type of blank verse is not the natural equivalent of *dróttkvætt* or *hrynhend*. In proper names Mr. Sephton has adhered in most cases to the original form; it might have been still better had he retained the modern Icelandic fashion of marking the long vowels with an acute accent, and thus enabled the reader to distinguish between such forms as *Stað*, *Karl*, *Hall*, and *Hákon*, *Grágás*, *Kári*.

To the saga is appended a translation of the *Anecdotes of Sverri* in which King Sverri's position is defended against the clergy. Then come the *Notes* referred to above, and a very full *General Index*, which seems to contain everything the reader is likely to look for. In the list of "Proverbs," on p. 282, it is hardly correct to insert "The stronger rules the roast," which will not be found on the page referred to. Very useful are the eight maps given at the end of the volume, especially the smaller ones; in the general map of Norway (No. 8) the antique style has rendered many of the names almost indecipherable.

Of matters which have some bearing on folklore, the following may be pointed out. Fairy tales are implied in the words on p. 7: "His condition most resembled that of royal children in

the old stories, under the curses of step-mothers." The miracle on p. 15 probably has some natural explanation; the story is of a raft which floated while men were on it, and sank the moment after they had left it. On p. 32 it is told how Sverri shamed the men of Helsingjaland into giving him food by threatening to eat horse-flesh. Sverri's men once thought their ship was spell-bound; it turned out that they had forgotten to pull up the anchor (p. 86). When a plot was preparing against Sverri, he showed prescience of it by making a thrust in the air with a knife, saying, "The fetches of our foes are now flitting about us" (p. 146). Sverri had a fondness for using proverbs and quoting verses. The most interesting of his quotations is one from *Fífnismál*, while his best proverb is the excellent Wellerism, "Such things often happen at sea, as the seal said when it was shot in the eye" (p. 209).

Various writers have pointed out that *Sverris saga* has one defect; it gives only one side of the great king's character; we learn much about his battles, and little or nothing about his statesmanship. This, however, is the real Icelandic spirit (compare the modern tale, in which the old woman says, "There's no fun in the Gospels; there's no fighting in them"); it is action of a stirring kind that forms the mainspring of a saga, and there are few historical works of the 12th and 13th centuries that could bear comparison with Abbot Karl's history of King Sverri.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

STUDIES ON BIBLICAL SUBJECTS. NO. II. JACOB AT BETHEL:
THE VISION—THE STONE—THE ANOINTING. By A.
SMYTHE PALMER, D.D. London: David Nutt. 1899.

THIS is the second instalment of Dr. Smythe Palmer's *Studies on Biblical Subjects*, the first of which, on "Babylonian Influence on the Bible," has already been noticed in *Folk-Lore* (vol. ix., p. 71). It displays the same amount of wide reading, the same power of happy combination, and the same charm of style. The story of Jacob's vision at Beth-el is treated with a wealth of illustration from folklore and mythology which is really wonderful. Every detail in it is shown to have its counterpart in the beliefs and

legends of the Semitic East and to be rooted as it were in the religious conceptions of primitive man.

Dr. Palmer deals first of all with the vision of the ladder, or rather stairway, which the patriarch saw rising up into heaven, and traces it back to the stairway of the Babylonian *ziggurat*, or temple-tower, which led from the lowest stage of the building up to the topmost chamber, where the deity was supposed to reside. In the *ziggurat* he sees a representation of that "Mountain of the World" on whose summit the Babylonians believed that the gods dwelt; and he ingeniously connects the latter with the title of *sadu rabu*, or "great mountain," applied to Bel, which seems to have been the origin of the El Shaddai of the book of Genesis.

The angels who passed from heaven to earth are, Dr. Palmer points out, originally identical with the stars which Jacob had seen twinkling above the stair-like rocks of the hills of Beth-el before he had lain down to sleep. The belief that the stars are animate beings is found all over the world; and their identity with the angels is indicated not only in apocalyptic works like the Book of Enoch but even in passages of the Bible like Is. xxiv. 21, 22, and Jude 13. In fact, "the hosts of heaven," of whom Jahveh was lord in Israel, as Assur was in Assyria, were primarily the stars, and in Assyrian the same word *tsabu* means both "host" and "star." The astrological idea of the influence of the heavenly bodies upon the lives and actions of men is but an application on the scientific side of the beliefs which on the theological side resolved the stars into angelic legions.

From the vision of the patriarch Dr. Palmer passes on to the Beth-el or consecrated stone which marked the spot where it had been seen. The Beth-el or Bætylos was characteristic of Semitic religion wherever it was found. The deity was regarded as immanent in certain stones in a special way; they were veritable "abodes of God," in which the godhead was localised and present among men. So deeply implanted was this belief in the Semitic mind that even Mohammed found it impossible to eradicate it; and the reverence still paid to the black stone of the Ka'abah at Mecca is a permanent witness to the fact. Why particular stones should excite feelings of awe and worship is a psychological phenomenon which still awaits explanation; but the fact is an undoubted one and is common to all races of mankind. Indeed, I myself remember how, when as a boy I saw Stonehenge for the

first time, I felt inclined to bow down before the huge and mysterious stones of the circle and to recognise a divinity in them. Among the Semites, however, the stone seems to have needed a special act of consecration before it could actually become a Beth-el or "House of God." This act of consecration consisted in pouring oil upon it and thereby fitting it to be a true abode of deity. Dr. Palmer is doubtless right in connecting with the belief in the sacredness of certain stones the comparison of Jahveh with a *tsur* or "rock." It may be added that one of the Babylonian gods bore the name of *Tsur*.

The consecration of the Beth-el leads to a consideration of the use of oil for this purpose. The religious use of unction was not confined to the Semitic peoples; we find it in Egypt and Greece as well as among the savage races of the modern world. Dr. Palmer follows Robertson Smith in supposing that its employment in ritual originated in the fat of the sacrifice, which in the Mosaic law is expressly called "the food of the Lord," and for which vegetable oil was afterwards substituted. A simpler explanation would be that just as oil or grease is rubbed over the body to preserve it from sickness and the stings of insects, so too it was poured over the sacred stone to protect it from the attacks of demons. Primitive man saw in sickness not a disease of the body but an attack from without by a hostile spirit. In this case the fat of the victim would have been dedicated to the gods, because it represented the means whereby they were protected from the powers of evil.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE HOMERIC HYMNS. A NEW PROSE TRANSLATION AND
ESSAYS, LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL. By ANDREW
LANG. With illustrations. George Allen.

WE know what to expect from Mr. Lang as a translator: an accurate version in a style which, if a trifle affected, is really not unlike the Authorised Version of the Scriptures. In this book we have something more. The text of the hymns is in a corrupt state, and Mr. Lang has had to play the critic now and again.

The result is we have a translation which makes sense ; but we cannot be sure that it is what the poet meant, because Mr. Lang's canons were not manuscript authority, but literary excellence—he tried to find “the phrases least unworthy of the poets.” For the general reader, the translation is all that could be desired ; and the dainty appearance of the book, with its photogravure plates, some of which are beautiful, makes it suitable for a Christmas present to a folklorist parent. The student of Greek religion too will find all he wants ; but in view of the principles of criticism just alluded to, he would do well to check by comparison with another version, or the best text, any passage he intends to build theories upon.

Members of this Society, however, will be chiefly interested in the mythological essays. Mr. Lang appears to have in his eye those who decry the use of savage rites and myths in explaining Greek religion, and those who do not : a large audience, and we hope Mr. Lang's optimism will be borne out by the publisher's royalties. To the former class, in the person of M. Foucart, he addresses an essay on the Alleged Egyptian Origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries ; and finds no difficulty in demolishing the arguments and assumptions of M. Foucart. This chapter may serve as a warning to all who argue from too narrow a basis. To the latter class Mr. Lang seems to address the rest of the book ; but perhaps in consequence of having the former class in his mind, he contents himself with stating his opinions without sufficient evidence to support them. He may be right in differing from Mr. Tylor on the subject of *Animism* (p. 21) ; but it is not sufficient to say so. Perhaps the lowest known races have a “fluid mass of beliefs both high and low, from the belief in a moral creative being, a judge of men, to the pettiest fable which envisages him as a medicine man, or even as a beast or bird,” and it may be the higher belief is the older ; but though Mr. Lang cannot see how if the lower came first, the higher was evolved by very backward savages, it may yet be true, or more probably Mr. Lang has exaggerated the “height” of the beliefs in question by reading his own very civilised thoughts into something quite vague and shadowy. We do not wish to commit ourselves at this present ; we are open to conviction : but it seems to us that in this very intricate question we must wait for more light before deciding. From the evidence now to hand it seems clear both that the

Australian savages have more religious faith than they used to be credited with, and that the moral influence of their "high gods" has been greatly exaggerated. It is the discoverer's fervour, of course: we have seen it before; and time will bring the reaction.

The value of this book lies then in its literary quality chiefly, and secondly in its advocacy of the comparative method addressed to scholars of the narrower type. Students of folklore will be glad to have Mr. Lang's opinions clearly set forth (has it not been whispered that he sometimes shifts his ground a trifle?) but for proofs they will go elsewhere.

Dr. M. ROSENFELD: DER MIDRASCH DEUTERONOMIUM RABBA PAR. IX. UND XI., 2-10, UEBER DEN TOD MOSES. Berlin, 1899.

THE justification for taking notice of this publication in the pages of *Folk-Lore* lies in the fact that the old apocryphal literature has contributed more than any other branch of literary activity to what we call now "popular" literature. There is another reason still, inasmuch as I am firmly convinced that the interest shown in recent times to this apocryphal literature owes its origin not to any kind of religious revival, or to the so-called higher biblical criticism, as to the modern study of folklore. The present book does not deal with any of the more important Apocryphas. Known through a quotation in the Epistle of Jude (v. 9), the "Assumption of Moses" had some influence on the evolution of the doctrine of the dual powers in the world, as Satan is represented to dispute the right of the angel to the body of Moses. Curiously enough this very incident is missing in the Latin fragment of the "Assumptio," and even the latest editor of that text, R. H. Charles, has only been able to adduce divers quotations from the writings of the Fathers of the Church in order to supplement this lacuna. We find it, however, very much elaborated in the Hebrew versions, where on the contrary the initial part has disappeared. One of these versions is now published in German translation with the collation of other printed versions of this legend, and the author of this publication tries to bring out the intimate connection which

has existed between the "Assumptio Mosis" preserved in a fragmentary form and a similar set of legends about the death of Moses in the Hebrew literature, notably in the final chapters of Deuteronomy Rabba. I have published in an English translation probably the oldest of these versions in my *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, chaps. l.-li. (pp. 133-146), indicating (pp. xci.-xcii.), the references to the whole literature, both Christian and Muhammedan. This book is unknown to Dr. Rosenfeld. I have, moreover, pointed out there that the passages which occur in the text of Deuteronomy Rabba, by which Zunz and also our author intended to prove the more recent origin of this version, are missing in the old MSS. of Jerahmeel. It has influenced the liturgical poetry, and is an interesting chapter in the history of the old religious popular literature. It would have been better had the author consulted also MSS. and not limited himself exclusively to printed texts, and also if he had rendered the version of the Yalqut more correctly; for he omits one very curious passage about the wish of Moses to live at least with one eye open and one eye closed!

For completeness' sake I add here an unknown Roumanian fragment, taken from one of my MS. Roumanian Hronographs, the source of which is undoubtedly Greek, but which I have not been able to trace. It is not found among the quotations collected by Charles. It runs as follows: "When Moses died, Satan attempted to enter the body of Moses in order to deceive the Jews and to make them believe that Moses had come to life again; but God sent the Archangel Michael, and he drove him away by the power of his holy might, and he could thus not achieve anything." To this then refers the rebuke of Satan mentioned in the Epistle.

M. GASTER.

DIE KRANKHEIT IM VOLKSGLAUBEN DES SIMMENTHALS. EIN BEITRAG ZUR ETHNOGRAPHIE DES BERNER OBERLANDES. VON DR. HANS ZAHLER. Bern: Hallersche Buchdruckerei. 1898. (Arbeiten aus dem Geographischem Institut der Universität Bern. Heft IV.)

THIS monograph is one of a class which we would fain see more numerous. Dr. Zahler writes of his own native district, and there-

fore has a right to claim that he has been able to record much which a stranger would never have heard of. Country folk are shy of talking to strangers about their beliefs, especially of such as are now generally made a joke of. The author has been so fortunate as to get hold of several manuscript books of folk-medicine; and these he has supplemented by inquiry and from his own knowledge. He has not given us the books complete, but classified the contents; thus each bit appears in its place amongst traditional lore of the same kind. As regards his faithfulness in dealing with the authorities we have no means of judging, but the extracts show every appearance of care in copying. The classification and subdivision is perhaps a trifle overdone, a fault often noticeable in German books; and the description of the books is needlessly minute. But after all these are faults on the right side. It is easy to skip what we do not want to read, and there is a full index. A useful list of authorities is appended. The contents of the book are of all sorts, and we have no space to give a full account of them. We would, however, call attention to the creature called *Doggeli*, an odd mixture of witch and goblin. The book may be recommended to students.

RÜGENSCHE SKIZZEN. Herausgegeben von Dr. A. Haas. Greifswald, Julius Abel, 1898.

THIS little book, beautifully printed, and illustrated chiefly from photographs, is a collection of nine papers contributed at different times to local periodicals. They deal in an archæological spirit with various points in the history and ethnography of the isle of Rügen. A large part of the volume, although interesting, does not specially concern students of folklore. It contains, however, two chapters on marriage-customs and harvest-customs. Both have been studied at first-hand, and for the former the author has also availed himself of the accounts left by earlier writers. Both sets of customs are worth study. In both, the songs sung and rhymed speeches are given at length. Among the bridal customs are some very curious. There were five bridesmaids, named Nibb, Tüll, Nüll, Foy, and Sack, of whom Nibb ranked as chief brides-

maid, and the others are named in order. They prepared the bride-vat. This was an ell high, in form a crown or a house, of twisted box- or fir-twigs, decked with gilded apples and tinsel, yellow, red, and golden streamers, and bunches of gilded nuts. It was furnished with arms, on which an egg, a cock, and a little bridal bed were placed. At the top was a cradle. Inside, it was filled with rolls of bread, with fruit and nuts, occasionally pewter plates. Fifty candles completed its splendour. Sometimes it took the shape of a ship with sails, which was represented as coming from Mount Lebanon and desirous of finding a haven in the house where the wedding was celebrated. The presentation of this bride-vat was part of the ceremonies; and the *Brautführer* made at the presentation a long speech in verse, accompanied in a low voice by the whole party. It was very unlucky for him to stumble or forget the words. After the feast there was of course the dance. When midnight was past, the bride's crown was sometimes danced off, and there ensued a wild struggle between married and unmarried for the possession of the bride. The married party being successful, the crown was replaced by a hood worn by young married women, and the dance continued until morning.

The old-fashioned houses without chimneys are carefully described, and a view of one of them given. The Hertha-see is also described, and the purely literary and modern origin of the name and tradition traced. Dr. Haas has made a very useful contribution to our knowledge of the island and its antiquities. An earlier collection by him of the folktales of Rügen was noticed, when it came out, in *Folk-Lore*, vol. iii., p. 119.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

NATURGESCHICHTLICHE VOLKSMÄRCHEN AUS NAH UND FERN.
Gesammelt von Oskar Daenhardt. Leipzig, 1898.

HERR DAENHARDT'S volume is devoted to those folk-stories which offer a serious or an absurd legend in explanation of the remarkable characteristics of some natural object. If anyone wishes to know why the moon waxes and wanes, how there come

to be knots in timber, through what means the fox got the white tag to his brush, or who caused the wine-coloured stains on the flower of the lesser bindweed by using it as a drinking-cup, he has only to consult this collection of *Märchen* for information. Many of the tales have been drawn from non-European sources, but the greater number appear to be German in origin. Among some of the most quaint are those which relate to God the Father, or to Christ and St. Peter; and it is noteworthy that in several of the tales which appear to be really Christian, and not mere adaptations from heathen beliefs, the horse is represented as playing a most churlish part in contrast to the ox, who is both kindly and helpful. The two animals would appear to be antagonistic in Christian folklore.

MABEL PEACOCK.

LITERATURA KULTURNĚ-HISTORICKÁ A ETHNOGRAFICKÁ. 1897-8.

I. By ČENKĚ ZÍBRT. (Reprinted from the "Česky Lid.")

THIS is a catalogue of publications on folklore and ethnography containing some nine hundred items. It is intended to be complete, and includes English and American books as well as German, French, Norse, and Slavonic. The Slavonic books and some of the German are accompanied with a brief review (sometimes in German). The book will be found valuable, particularly for its Slavonic items; but those who do not know Czech will be able to understand little besides the names.

MERRY SUFFOLK, MASTER ARCHIE, AND OTHER TALES: A BOOK OF FOLKLORE. By LOIS A. FISON. With which is included "Tom Tit Tot" and Sequel, by MRS. WALTER THOMAS. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1899.

THIS is a little book of genuine folklore, in parts just the least bit spoiled by being written up to a literary standard. For this purpose it has been thought necessary to cast the information in three

of the chapters into the shape of imaginary narrative or quasi-dramatic sketches: a sort of sugar-coating for "the general reader" of the pill of folklore. Such too is the softening down of the catastrophe of the sequel to *Tom Tit Tot*. This sequel is really an independent story, not belonging to the cycle of Rumpelstilzchen, but equally well known on the Continent of Europe. The true catastrophe as told in Suffolk is less fit perhaps for the parlour than Mrs. Thomas's version; but then it did not originate in the parlour. It ought nevertheless to be preserved, and therefore I venture to give it to the readers of *Folk-Lore*. The story is the same up to the introduction of the gipsy-confederate into the party. She has put a dozen rotten eggs in her pocket. She sits down and "jiffeys and jiffeys" until they are broken. The lords and ladies all freely accuse each other "o' stinkin' like a fummard; till there was sech a te-dew that the King he said: 'I'll ha' te know hew 'tis is a-stinkin' like that.' So he made 'em set down all round. Then the gipsy-woman she got up an' said: '"Tis me as stinks.' 'A-well, yew naster pug, git hoom and woish yerself, and doon't yew come hare ne moore,' says he. 'Woishin' oon't dew it,' says she. 'When I were a gal, I were a great spinner, an' I span an' span, till my twatlin' thrids was broke; an' what's moore, if yar wife spins like I, she'll stink like I.' An' soo the King he says: 'Look yew hare, me dare, an' listen what I sa' te yew. If ivver I see yew with a spindle agin in yar hands, yar hid'll goo off.' An' tha's all."

Mrs. Thomas may indeed be congratulated on having preserved with great ingenuity in the version she has given the spirit and outline of the story. If it is not as it stands the lore of the folk, we must not forget that we are indebted to her for two of the best English folktales that have been preserved, "Tom Tit Tot" and "Cap o' Rushes," both very properly included here. Excellent they are, and excellently told. Her sister, Miss Fison, has done good service also in recording in the pages that follow them some of the superstitions, charms, customs, riddles, and sayings of the county. More than "a pretty custom" is that of giving a bunch of immortelles to a girl when betrothed. It must be given by a married friend, and its destination is to be given by the maiden to her lover, who will preserve her love as long as he keeps the flowers. Here, in a particularly beautiful form, is the old pledge of fidelity which appears almost all over the world.

For other examples of belief and practice, I must refer readers to the book itself, which will be valued both within and without the county of Suffolk for its record of many things now fast passing or altogether passed away.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

AMERICAN INDIANS. By FREDERICK STARR. Boston :
D. C. Heath & Co. 1899.

THIS is the first to be published of a series of Ethno-Geographic Readers by Professor Starr, intended for use in schools. It gives a clear account in simple language of the aborigines of North America. It is illustrated by good cuts of the people and of objects connected with them, and by two excellent maps, one showing the former location of the most important groups and the other the present Indian reservations in the United States. The author wisely gives no footnotes ; they would be out of place in a book of the kind. But at the end of most of the sections he mentions in smaller type the names of the writers to whom he is indebted and makes a short statement of what they have done.

No book could be better calculated to effect its purpose—that of interesting youth, especially the youth of the United States, in the Indian population. The final section is an appeal on behalf of a dying race, all the more likely to be successful because of its very moderate and gentle tone. In dealing with the legends the author glides deftly over points unsuitable for the reading of boys and girls—for example, in the North-Western Story of the Raven, p. 190. He writes in a bright and lively style likely to seize the attention of the public he addresses.

One interesting fact recorded may be here referred to, for it illustrates the question how long the memory of an event may be retained by tradition alone. In the year 1832 Catlin sojourned among the Mandans on the Missouri River, and there painted some of his most famous pictures. Thirty-three years later Dr. Washington Matthews visited the same tribe, carrying with him a copy of Catlin's book containing engravings of his pictures. The people "had completely forgotten Catlin's visit, but were much

interested in his pictures. . . . They recognised many of the portraits and expressed great emotion."

The account given of the burial rites of the Indians suggests the desirability that some ethnologist should prepare a map showing the distribution of the different modes of burial practised by the aborigines of North America. The data for such a map are probably accessible only in the United States. If carefully prepared, it would throw much light on the relation of custom to environment and to race, and on the transmission of custom.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE RACES OF MAN: AN OUTLINE OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY. By J. DENIKER, Sc.D. (Paris). London: Walter Scott, Limited. 1900.

THE title of this book speaks for itself. It is a compendium of facts; like all such works, covering too wide a ground to be otherwise than dry to read, but very useful for reference. As a science yet in its youth, anthropology includes many facts, and series of facts, the relations of which have hitherto hardly been determined. The racial characteristics of men are among these; and here the author is compelled not merely to state facts, but also to criticise and to set forth his own conclusions. The compilation is thus varied and strengthened by original contributions of importance.

Amid so large a collection of facts it is easy to find slips. Comparing p. 148, for instance, with p. 123, I am not sure whether the author intends us to understand that primitive man was solitary in his habits. I do not believe man ever "wandered solitary through the virgin forests," that is to say, not habitually. Theories of various kinds have been built on the supposition that he did, but there is not the slightest evidence to that effect. On the contrary, man must have been from the beginning a social creature, probably wandering in herds before he learnt to recognise kinship, and to fit together the elements of what is really human society.

Nor can the student safely accept many of the statements, of necessity vague and general in form, without qualification. The

investigations of the late Professor Fillmore and Miss Fletcher into the harmonic structure of the music of the North American tribes were probably published too recently to enable the author to take advantage of them, or he would, I think, have modified his observations on savage music. Speaking generally, indeed, the progress of research on customs, institutions, beliefs, and other subjects of folklore has been so rapid of late years, that it is no marvel the author is not posted up in the latest presentations of fact and argument. All this part of the book would be improved by careful revision. And I protest against the assertion: "Legends, traditional tales, proverbs, &c., are simplified myths, with the poetic element predominating. The study of them forms a special branch of ethnology called folklore." Such language might have been used in 1877: it is out of date in 1900.

The value of the book, however, lies on the physical side. The careful account of somatic and physiological characters, the discussion of the classification of races and peoples, the description, general though it be, of the various races, the tables containing the materials on which the author's conclusions on different points are based, will all be thoroughly appreciated by inquirers. The illustrations have been selected with great judgement, and most of them have come out well. The maps and some of the groups are on too small a scale.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MONTH-NAMES.

A LARGE number of Dutch popular month-names (now or formerly in use), partly derived from religious festivals held in those months and partly from nature and agriculture, are collected in *Noord en Zuid*, 1899, pp. 328 and following, by Mr. Leenclertz. Since he has been able to collect so large a number of such names in Holland I presume that Great Britain, which is a larger country, could furnish at least an equal quantity of them. Yet I cannot say that I know of any such names definitely attached to months of the Julian Calendar. We have, of course, representatives of the two classes of popular names in, e.g., Michaelmas on the one hand and Harvest-Moon on the other, but they are scarcely definite popular designations of the Julian months. I should be glad to hear of any such British popular month-names known to readers of this Journal.

The matter is of interest to me as throwing light on the meaning of ancient month-names. These, I believe to be all, except when the months were numbered, either of the *Michaelmas* or of the *Harvest-Moon* type; and the preponderance of one type over the other is an important sociological fact. I believe that very nearly all the numerous ancient Greek month-names are of the *Michaelmas* type, derived from festivals, and so probably (but I have not yet been able to inquire fully) are the Semitic month-names and all the original Roman names, except those giving the number of the month in the calendar. In modern Greece (as in Holland) a good many month-names of the other *Harvest-Moon* type are in common use. We all know how the French Revolution, which wished to be antique and conspicuously failed all round, banished the *Michaelmas* type and adopted exclusively the *Harvest-Moon* type of month-name. The names given to the Revolutionary months were Latin, or Greek, or hybrid, but the principle was, it seems, not antique at all.

W. R. PATON.

MAY DAY.

(Vol. x., pp. 443-4.)

I was at Wilton on the first of May, 1896. There I saw many parties of little girls, one of whom would carry a short stick, at the top of which was a garland or bunch of flowers. The girls would stand at the doors of houses and sing a song, the last line of which was: "Please give a penny for the garland." Wilton is a small town, and the garlands were numerous, so I suppose the house-to-house visitation was soon done, as when I left, soon after nine a.m., the girls were either wandering aimlessly about with their garlands or sitting on doorsteps counting their gains. I was told that the pence are collected in order to be afterwards spent at Wilton Fair, which is held on the first Monday in May.

The same day I reached Salisbury about eleven o'clock. Although it is only three miles from Wilton, the fashion of the May observance was different. The girls, instead of being in parties of four or five, went about in couples, each member of which held the end of a short stick, to the middle of which the garland was tied, and hung between the two girls as they walked along. The garland (as I suppose I must call it) was in the form of a crown, whose circlet and bows were covered with flowers. I did not hear any singing, and the girls went from shop to shop, within which they would wait until they received either money or a dismissal.

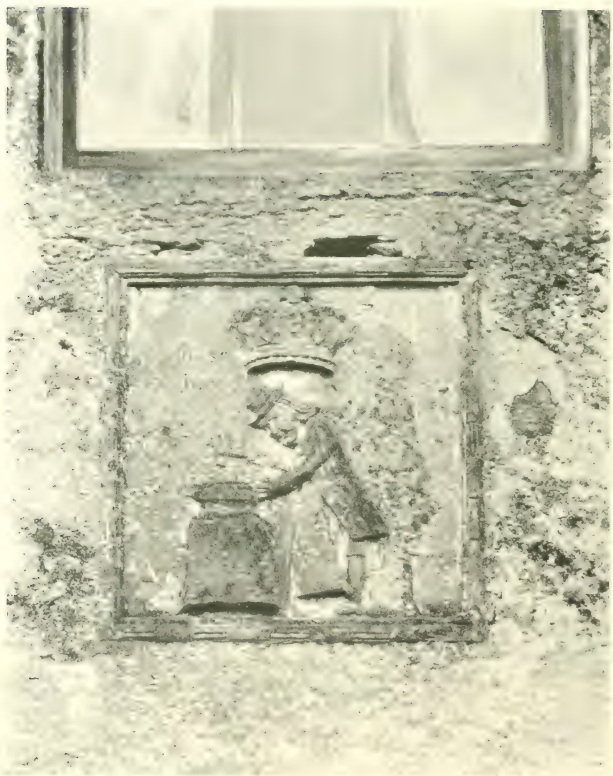
J. P. EMSLIE.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

(Vol. x., pp. 253-4, 477.)

In the West of Scotland the belief in touching the dead to prevent dreaming of them or having any uncomfortable sensations afterwards, is common among the older people. The references to this in *Folk-Lore* recalled the memory of my grandmother (a well-educated woman, a native of Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire) placing my unwilling hand on the body of a dead child whose relations we were visiting. A mere infant at the time, seeing the dead child, and especially being forced to touch it, left a feeling of horror and dread that it took years to get free from.

KATHERINE CARSON.



CARVING ON HOUSE AT BLAIRGOWRIE.

To face page 211.

MISCELLANEA.

WELTON FARMHOUSE, BLAIRGOWRIE.

THE curious carving, shown on the accompanying plate, of a smith at work, surmounted by a crown, appears on an old stone-built two-storied house, near the River Ericht, at Blairgowrie, now in the possession of Mrs. Macpherson, of Blairgowrie. It was probably owned for three hundred years by the family of Low. The founder of the family was a blacksmith who excelled all other smiths in the quantity and quality of the work he did, being, it was commonly reported, helped in his trade nightly by the gude-folk. One night watching them, he forgot that he must not speak to them, and in his excitement exclaimed aloud :—

“ Well struck, Red Cap ; better still, Blue.”

And they replied :—

“ Well struck or ill struck, we strike no more for you.”

And thereupon vanished and returned no more.

The old stone carving beneath the window of the second floor, and above the door, as seen in the illustration, is fast peeling off from age, and the inscription and date, save for a letter or two, have disappeared entirely. I do not think it has previously been recorded in the history of the locality. Nobody I was acquainted with knew anything of the matter, nor could any one explain the existence of a crown surmounting the figure of the smith. Mr. D. Milne, to whom I owe my illustration, had not previously been employed to record this curious old carved tablet. *Folk-Lore* readers may be interested in the matter. The date of the house may be about 1570.

E. K. PEARCE.

DEVONSHIRE FOLKLORE, COLLECTED AMONG THE PEOPLE NEAR
EXETER WITHIN THE LAST FIVE OR SIX YEARS. By LADY
ROSALIND NORTHCOTE.

THERE are many beliefs still held by the old people in Devonshire that are thought but little of by the younger generation, and of these beliefs "overlooking" and "ill-wishing" and "pixy-leading" play the most prominent parts. One hears also of white witches, but generally, alas, in the past tense.

GOBLINDOM.—*Jack o' th' Lantern*.—One can occasionally hear tales about Jack o' th' Lantern. He seems to be dreaded as a rule, but is sometimes affable, and even gracious. A young woman, of much daring, insisted, contrary to the wishes of her friends, in going alone past a marshy place said to be haunted by Jack o' th' Lantern, for he usually haunts marshes and boggy "bottoms" on the moors. Still more rashly, she used this invocation :

Jack o' the Lantern, Jan of the Lub,
Light me home and I'll give you a crub.

(Crub is a local name for crumb.) He did appear, and what is more, alarmed her so terribly that she was ill for long afterwards. More fortunate was another witness, a certain man who had always to go home through a copse, for he said that when he was obliged to come home in the dark Jack would light him all the way, adding that Jack had been especially attentive to him in his courting days. Jack would dance from side to side, but always took the right way, and he himself would call out "Thank'ee, Jack! Thank'ee Jack!" till he was brought to his own door. This man one night refused a lantern (pressed on him by the wife of the man who told me this), saying that Jack always lighted him, and that he never carried a lantern. It is supposed that he feared that he would have hurt Jack's feelings if he had done so.

Another man was walking along a road one night when he was overtaken by Jack, who skipped up to him, showing, he described, "a face like a brandy bottle." He told the wayfarer that he was now due in a town some miles distant, and was over the hill in a twinkling.

Pixies.—Tales of people being pixy-led, even almost up to the present day, abound. If there is a fog one may hear the pixies laughing, and, as is well known, if one is hopelessly lost the great remedy is to turn out a pocket or put on one's coat inside out.

Pixies are fond of water, and some children whom I knew used to go down to the side of a stream to watch for them there. Precautions have to be taken against changelings, and at Chudleigh mothers used to tie their babies to them in bed at night for fear of the pixies. At Bishopsteignton the women on an average used to be very small, and folks said it was because the pixies had changed them when they were babies.

A keeper and his wife used to live at Chudleigh, near the rocks, whose holes the pixies "bide" in. This couple had two children, and one morning when the wife had dressed the eldest she let her run away while she dressed the baby. Presently her husband came and asked her "where the little maid was to?" For she was gone and was not to be found. They searched high and low for days; the neighbours came to help, and at last bloodhounds were to be sent for. But one morning some young men thought they would go and help themselves to some nuts from a clump of nut-trees not far from the keeper's house, and at the farther side they came suddenly on the child, undressed, but well and happy, and not at all starved, playing with her toes, or toads; I do not know which. The pixies were supposed to have stolen the child, and are still firmly believed to have been responsible for her disappearance.

The pixies are quick to revenge a slight, as the following "bit" shows. In the course of ploughing a field a pixies' oven¹ was once discovered and the man told the plough-boy to pick it up. But the boy broke it (it was wooden), saying that "They old pixies shouldn't bake no more bread." Immediately he was set upon by invisible enemies and so severely pinched that he was forced to go home to bed, his bruises being so bad that he could not even open his eyes for days.

Another version tells that the oven, already broken, for want of a nail, was put in sight of the ploughman and that he mended it. Afterwards he found a mug of cider put out for him in the field by the pixies. He offered a drink to the boy, who spoke disrespectfully of the pixies and was thereupon attacked by them.

Pixies sometimes act the part usually assigned to brownies and assist in household work. Here are two stories, resembling a very well-known one of Grimm's, but with different endings.

¹ Query, oven-peel. — Ed.

There was once a farmer, who had a barn containing corn, and however much he threshed in the day it always seemed as full as ever in the morning. One night he determined to watch, and presently in came some (I think only two or three) pixies. Each seized a flail and began to thresh. Then said one: "Tweat you? I tweat." The farmer felt grateful and determined to reward them for their trouble, so he had little suits of clothes made for them. Then he put these in the barn, and hid himself and watched again, and by-and-by the pixies came in. They were delighted with the clothes and dressed themselves in them, but after that they went away and did no more work for the farmer.

The other tale was written down for me by a woman whose father told it to her, and I give her exact words.

"Once there was a farmer who used to employ a workman by the name of Robin Hood, so the farmer agreed with him to thresh some corn. He worked at it for several days and could not shrink it one bit, so he thought to himself one day he would watch through the night. So when it came on dark he hid himself in a corner of the barn and about twelve o'clock, having locked the door on the inside, he saw a big picksy come through the keyhole with a big load on his back, and then a smaller one, and then a very little one. They put down their loads and rubbed themselves, and said: 'I tweat. You tweat. Tweat I too.' The man jumped out of his hiding-place with a pick, so they disappeared through the keyhole, and the man finished his threshing in peace the next day. But the picksys did not forget or forgive him. When he was returning home from his work one came and jumped on his back and kept saying: 'Turn again, Robin,' till it brought him down to a river. Then it jumped in the river.

"Then Robin met his two brothers, so they thought they would go for a night's poaching. Off they started, through wild and lonely places. When they got on the top of a hill they looked down over and saw something like fire. One said it was fire, and another said it was the sun rising in the earth. The other said it must be the moon. Then it divided into a lot of little picksys with shining heads. They thought they would be brave and see what they were up to, but when they came up nearer to them the men got so frightened they began to run away, each in a different direction. They scrambled through brambles, ditches, and mud. When they arrived home they were shoeless and hatless. They

ran up and got into bed and lay shaking all night—thought every sound was the picksys coming after them. That was the last time Robin went poaching.”

WITCHCRAFT.—The power of many evilly-disposed persons, who work harm to others, is supposed to lie, partly, in their “books”—mysterious books, often to be heard of, in the possession of some one else—and never to be seen!

Harm may be wrought to others by the agency of toads. One woman, in a neighbouring village, kept toads in her back kitchen for the purpose of injuring persons against whom she had a grudge. They are also supposed to forecast certain events, and an old woman (personally known to my informant’s mother) who was bedridden, kept toads in her bed, and people used to come to her to have their fortunes told by them. By what means the toads accomplished either the ill-wishing or fortune-telling one is not told.

There is a belief in the evil eye, only it is called “overlooking” in these parts. Two neighbours near here have a long-standing quarrel. Sometimes when they are out in the yard together Mrs. A. looks at Mrs. J. in “such a way,” that her knees tremble under her and she has to go indoors and have a cry. And for days afterwards she is bent “two double.” [That is, head and shoulders stooping very badly.]

White witches, of course, can heal as well as hurt both man and beast. The white witch of the following account, my informant declared to being acquainted with. One of the horses belonging to a certain farmer being ill, he sent for the witch to cure it. She stayed a few days in the house and the animal recovered. She then left the place. Soon afterwards a bullock fell ill, and the woman was again sent for, and she returned and effected a second cure. Again, another beast became sick, and so it happened after every time that she had left the house. Then they resolved to have her no more, thinking that she had been the cause of each fresh illness, and when she knew this, to revenge herself, the house was “troubled.” Doors kept slamming when there was no wind, and they constantly heard the sound of a horse trotting overhead and on the stairs. In one bedroom a large heap of French beans was put to dry, and every night these used to rattle round and round the room. The man who slept there used to feel something running over his feet in bed, and

one night when the beans were very lively he struck a light quickly. Instantly they were all in their proper places. The house is now pulled down.

Another story tells one how to keep these malevolent women at a distance, though not asserting that their power is equally staved off. But the witch in this particular case was an old woman, suspected of witchcraft, chiefly because she bought old bones and bits of iron. The old iron she used to sell to a former blacksmith in our neighbouring village (whose grandson told the tale). Friendly advisers warned the blacksmith that he ought not to have such an uncanny visitor so often about, nor so many dealings with her. "How was he to stop her?" he asked. He was told to notice where she set her foot within the forge, and after her departure to drive a nail in her track. This he did, and afterwards when she was passing she would call to him, but never crossed his threshold. One day he drew out the nail, and ever after that she came inside the forge as much as she had done before.

It is difficult to know if, and how far, people still believe in witchcraft proper. Most people agree that witches and pixies used formerly to flourish, and if then, why not now? But belief in their existence at the present day is very shadowy. One view was put before me that Heaven would not permit one human creature to harm another "of like flesh and blood" by evil spells. But this was contradicted by another opinion, that Heaven had nothing to do with it: spells were the work of the Evil One. One woman thinks that increased education ought to, or does, produce more witchcraft than there was in former days, because if so much harm could be done by ignorant folk and their "books," now that the knowledge of most folk is increased their power to harm will be increased also.

FOLK-MEDICINE.—Village herbalists still exist and their advice is sought; but perhaps their knowledge is not so deep as was that of their fathers, for though their counsel is still respected, they themselves do not seem to be revered to the extent that their predecessors were. Many women have family recipes and make ointments of their own.

Bear's foot, a plant with five (?) finger-like leaves, is good, but one finger is bad and must be torn off and thrown away. Angelica has wonderful virtues. Fox-glove, or, as it is here called, cow-flop,

heals sores, but must be gathered on the north side of a hedge. Butter is better for making ointment with than lard, because cows feed on herbs, and all herbs are good for something.

Mrs. T.'s mother used herbs very extensively, and many people used to come to her for bitters, ointments, dried herbs, and also to ask her to say a certain prayer for the sick. This prayer can only be taught by a man to a woman, or a woman to a man, otherwise it loses its efficacy. On one occasion the friends of a man came to her, he being so violently ill with some inflammatory complaint, that he was with difficulty held down in his bed. She said the prayer, and on their return they found him lying perfectly quiet. Here is a prayer for a burn—

“There was two angels came from the West,
One blowed fire, the other frost.

Out fire, In frost,

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and
of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

There are many people still who can stop bleeding by just saying “something.” A man here stopped a wound bleeding only a week or so before the account was given to me. His wife said that he was sent for in the middle of the night to a friend of his because a blood vessel had burst inside his head, and he stayed the blood before the doctor came. He also stopped the bleeding from a bad cut in a boy's foot quite lately. The foot was stretched out on a stool before him and he just put his hands out over it and said something—of course, not allowing any of the standers-by to hear what he said. The wound was then streaming, so that the blood ran over the floor, but the flow ceased and the wound only wept a little after the words were spoken.

The same man can also prevent a thorn festering. He cured a woman a little while back without even seeing her. She fell on one hand into a bundle of furze and went to his house for help. He was out at the time, but was told of the occurrence on his return and said something which cured her. His mother could touch for king's evil. The old belief in the efficacy of a rope with which a man has been hanged is still alive. It was brought under the notice of a doctor as having cured some one suffering from king's evil but a few months ago. A man who has stopped bleeding or thorns festering in this manner must never be paid, nor ask a fee, but a present of some sort should be made him.

HINDU NOTES.

Hanumân, the son of Anjanâdevi, and faithful servant of Râma, did not marry, and it is said he will not marry till all the Malas or Pariahs are swept off the face of the earth, and till all the *Moduga* trees (*Butea frondosa*) are destroyed, root and branch. Hanumân is said to fast for a week when he sees a Pariah. Pariahs go to him to worship or circumambulate his temple early in the morning with wet clothes, with a vow to free themselves from Sani or Evil Luck. Hanumân is said to possess power to remove the adversities of men.

Monkeys (*Macacus Radiatus*) were originally men—Kappuvandlu or farmers. They contracted debts, and their creditors came upon them one day unawares, and demanded the money due to them. Nonplussed and unable to pay, the monkeys took their present shape, and putting their tails underneath their posteriors, fled to the jungle.

The bug is said to give birth to little ones *seven times* during a night, and not being satisfied with this, went to God to ask for a boon of offspring.

A child is never shown a looking-glass, for fear that if he sees his reflection there he will become unwell. If, however, he insists upon having it, the looking-glass (usually a hand looking-glass) will be turned the other side—the reverse side—and shown to the child.

When suffering from *hemicrania* a Secunderabad barber will put a dried seed, called a *pâdasha ginga*, in one of his earholes, believing that by so doing he will be relieved of the pain, which he calls *pâdasha noppi*, or one-sided headache.

“Kámoodu kari bogga agai

Kámudu pendlam náku agai.”

“The God of Love has turned to blackest charcoal.

The God of Love’s wife has become mine.”¹

Thus sing the street urchins at the time of the Holi, or the Hindu Saturnalia.

“Voozálo Kumbálo²

Dáisumma Biddalu Daiyalo.”

“Swing ho ! swing ho !

Dáisumma’s daughters are Devils.”

Thus sing the Hindu child from its swing.

¹ After having been burnt. At the Holi, effigies of Madana the God of Love are burnt. Madana’s wife was Rati.

² Sometimes Jumpálo. The precise meaning of the word cannot be given. It may mean the backward and forward motion of a swing. Voozálo in Telugu means a swing.

A Hindu Nursery-Song.

Dilli-ummah Dilli,¹ Pillaki yaimáimi?
 Dilli-ummah Dilli, Pillaki Genteeloo.
 Dilli-ummah Dilli, Pillaki yaimáimi?
 Dilli-ummah Dilli, Pillaki Bogadeeloo.
 Dilli-ummah Dilli, Pillaki yaimáimi?
 Dilli-ummah Dilli, Pillaki Pillaudloo.
 Dilli-ummah Dilli, Pillaki yaimáimi?
 Dilli-ummah Dilli, Pillaki Katherbáneeloo.

Translation.

“O mother, Dill, Dill, what have you brought for the girl?
 O mother, Dill, Dill, I have brought *Genteeloo* for the girl.
 O mother, Dill, Dill, what have you brought for the girl?
 O mother, Dill, Dill, I have brought *Bogadeeloo* for the girl,” &c.

NOTE.—In India wives are selected for young men by their mothers without the young people being consulted in the matter. In this song, a mother is supposed to go to a housewife and ask her daughter in marriage for her son. The housewife in reply asks what ornaments the bridegroom’s mother will give to the girl; for the bestowal of a girl depends on the ornaments a bridegroom gives by way of dower to his bride. Many Komti girls are given away in marriage by their parents without consulting the young people’s interest, to Komtees well-stricken in years, because of handsome dowers. *Genteeloo*, *Bogadeeloo* (Secunderabad colloquial for Bogudloo), and *Katherbáneeloo*, are gold ornaments for the ears of Hindu (Telugu) women. *Pillaudloo* are silver ornaments for their toes. All these ornaments are in use at this day in Southern India, with the exception of *Genteeloo*.

M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.R.C.S.,
 Secunderabad, Deccan.

29th September, 1899, 5th and 23rd March, 1900.

¹ A term of endearment addressed by the mothers of the bride and bridegroom to each other.

SUNWISE PROCESSIONS.

In the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's *Book of the West* the following is recorded :

"There was a churchyard cross at Manaton [Devonshire]. The Rev. C. Carwithen, who was rector, found that the people carried a coffin thrice round it, the way of the sun, at a funeral ; although he preached against the usage as superstitious, they persisted in doing so. One night he broke up the cross and removed and concealed the fragments. It is a pity that the cross did not fall on and break his stupid head."—Vol. i., p. 39.

My daughter Mabel tells me that somewhat less than twenty years ago she was present at a wedding in the parish church of Lustnau, near Tübingen, which belongs to the Lutheran body. At the conclusion of the service the wedding party, including the guests invited to the marriage feast, walked round the stone altar and the crucifix behind it. They passed from the west to the north and thence to the east and then on to the south. The pastor's wife said it was the custom, but gave no explanation of its meaning.

These practices seem to be survivals of sun-worship, adapted to Christianity.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

FIRST FOOT IN LANCASHIRE.

My sister and I were staying with relations in Lancashire on New Year's Day, 1900, and about five o'clock a heavy step came up into the upper hall, off which the bedrooms opened, and a man's voice called out "Good new year to you !" We found that this is a very old Lancashire custom called "First foot in the house." The man who entered the house we were in, has been the first to enter it for eleven years, and he always gets ten shillings in gold.

He must be a man with dark hair, and not flat feet ; and he must come in at the hall door, go up all through the halls and cry out, "Good new year to you," three times, and go out at the back door.

E. SKEFFINGTON THOMPSON.

[The Rev. E. W. Clarke notes both dark hair and high instep occur at Hull, Yorkshire.—G. L. G.]

FOLKLORE FROM CALYMNOS.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF A HOUSE.—The masons wait until noon or thereabouts, when no shadow falls in the trenches. The owner of the house must not be present, as if his shadow by any chance is built in, he will die soon.

NEWLY-BORN CHILDREN.—A woman who is still unchurched, *i.e.* for the forty days after her confinement, must not enter the house in which there is a newly-born child without stepping over a key. If she omits this precaution, the house will be infested by mice.

Whence this common explanation of rites, the significance of which is quite other, as precautions against vermin? Jumping over the midsummer fires is here and very widely supposed to protect from fleas. I do not fancy that such explanations are at all frivolous and modern. No doubt vermin were a serious plague to primitive man, and it was by plagues of vermin (after the Nile had been turned into blood) that Moses tried first to soften the very hard heart of Pharaoh. This explanation of the purpose of these rites must be very old, but of course it is not the original one. I suppose that when their original significance went out of men's minds, the more conservative sex, which is also more domestic and more seriously troubled by these domestic plagues, found this to be the most reasonable reason for perpetuating rites, the meaning of which their mankind could not explain to them.

ASCENSION DAY.—It is the custom here to take the first sea-bath on the morning of the Ascension. The bath must be taken before sunrise. It is also believed that the sea becomes sweet for the hour after midnight on this morning.

W. R. PATON

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* * I chronicle this interesting off-print here in spite of its date, as it is probably unknown to most Members of the Society.

Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XI.]

SEPTEMBER, 1900.

[No. III.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25th, 1900.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Sidney Hartland) in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The resignation of Mrs. Brough was announced.

The election of Mrs. F. L. Naylor and Miss W. Faraday as new Members was also announced.

Mr. Lundgren exhibited and explained some totems, fetishes, and toys of the Hopi Tribe of North American Indians, into which he had been adopted, and answered a number of questions as to the significance of certain of the objects addressed to him by Messrs. Clodd, Gomme, Nutt, Myers, Professor Haddon, and the President. Mr. N. W. Thomas exhibited a photograph representing a harvest scene at Sætersdal, in Southern Norway, which he presented to the Society.

Votes of thanks were accorded to Mr. Lundgren and Mr. Thomas for their exhibits.

Mr. Thomas then read a paper entitled, "Animal Superstitions and Totemism" (*infra*, p. 227), and in the discussion which followed Messrs. Nutt, Gomme, and Lundgren, Professor Haddon, and the President took part.

Mr. Thomas having replied, a vote of thanks was accorded to him for his paper.

The following book which had been presented to the Society since the last Meeting was laid on the table; *Bibliography of Ethnographical Literature*, 1897-8, from the "Česky Lid," by Dr. Čeněk Zibrt (Bohemian).

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16th, 1900.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Sidney Hartland) in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mrs. Scholter as a Member of the Society was announced.

The death of General Pitt-Rivers was also announced.

The President made some observations on the work of the deceased General, and the loss which students of anthropology and archæology had sustained by his death.

Mr. H. M. Chadwick read a paper entitled "The Ancient Teutonic Priesthood" (*infra*, p. 268), and a discussion followed, in which Mr. Nutt, Mr. Major, Mr. Gomme, Miss Burne, and Mr. Janvier took part.

Papers entitled "Guernsey Folklore and Superstitions," by the late Mrs. Murray-Aynsley, "Guernsey Folklore Stories," by Miss F. E. Le Pelley, and "Notes on Folklore from Wilts," by Miss L. A. Law, edited by Mr. W. Crooke (*infra*, p. 344), were also read.

A pamphlet entitled "Derbyshire Funeral Garlands," by Dr. T. N. Brushfield, presented to the Society since the last Meeting, was laid on the table.

The usual votes of thanks were passed.

ANIMAL SUPERSTITIONS AND TOTEMISM.

BY N. W. THOMAS, M.A.

(*Read at Meeting of April 25th, 1900.*)

[The MS. notes (indicated by a †) are from the following ladies and gentlemen, to whom I here offer my most sincere thanks for their assistance :

Frau Eysn, Salzburg ; Oberleutnant z. S. Fischer, Kiel ; Herr Gander and Prof. Jentsch, Guben ; Herr Gutekunst, Reutlingen ; Frau, Fräulein, and Fräulein Greta Meyer-sahm, Kiel ; Herr Lorenzen, Neumünster ; Herr C. Stinde, Leusahn. My especial thanks are due to Dr. Feilberg for many citations from books inaccessible to me, and to Herr Jühling for MS. contributions and the advance sheets of his valuable work, *Tiermedizin*. I wish also to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Mr. Gomme ; the Irish evidence in the first section is drawn entirely from his valuable papers in the *Archæological Review*, on which I based my further researches.

A bibliography of the works most frequently quoted will be found at the end of the article.]

TOTEMISM has been found as a living cult in only two considerable areas of the world's surface—North America and Australia. For the majority of the human race it is, at most, an "überwundener Standpunkt," perhaps not even that, for authoritative voices have been raised to deny both its extensive distribution in the past and its importance in the history of religion.

The evidence for the former existence of Totemism, as of all other forgotten stages of man's development, must be sought in survivals. A survival is a belief, custom, or institution whose origin and meaning are lost ; its explanation is to be found sometimes in history, sometimes in those prehistoric days whose history has to be written by the aid of folklore.

In speaking to this society I need not do more than allude

to the fact that the customs and beliefs of European peasants give us a picture, incomplete perhaps, but still unmistakable, of a highly primitive form of religion. Mannhardt's researches into agricultural customs have placed this beyond question. These customs have subsisted virtually unchanged during a relatively long period, if we take the life of the individual as our standard. In another sense agriculture is modern. Our present methods of cultivation have ousted, over a large part of the old world, a more archaic mode of culture; our present cereals have supplanted millet, which most of us know only in fairy tales. This displacement of millet by cereals is, measured in years, infinitely remote, if we may judge by the slow decline of millet-cultivation in historic times. Infinitely more remote, however, is the introduction and spread of millet itself, which is found in regions that corn has never reached. Before this again, we must assume a period of uncertain duration when cultivated plants were yet unknown, and during which man spread over the world, subsisting on roots and fruits in the earlier stages, in the later on the chase and other methods of procuring food which presuppose a certain equipment; and in the seasons when wild animals were scarce, returning, perhaps, to the earlier mode of life.

The corn era is then relatively short. Compared with it the preceding periods are infinitely long. But, if the peasant has conserved his archaic agricultural religion, it does not seem hopeless to look for relics of still earlier cults in the customs of those who have shown themselves so inaccessible to the influences of civilisation. If Christianity and the corn-spirit have lived side by side for a thousand years and more, the stages which preceded agriculture will surely have left their traces, less distinctly it may be, but yet clearly enough for those who know how to read them, on the life of the European peasant of to-day.

As a natural result of the external influences to which, more than any other feature of the cult, it has been exposed, the

social side of Totemism will be found, we may expect, to be relatively far less important in the survivals, than the religious side, which is the attitude rather of the individual man to the sacred animal. In other words, the survivals of Totemism in Europe must be sought in the animal¹ superstitions and not in the marriage customs of the uncivilised or little civilised European peasant. These superstitions, adopting in part the classification made by Mr. Gomme of Dr. Frazer's Totemism,² I arrange under the following heads :

I.—Totemic, or Quasi-Totemic.

1. Descent from the totem.
2. Taboos (*a*) of killing the animal ; (*b*) of eating, touching, or using it ; (*c*) of seeing it ; (*d*) of using the ordinary name.
3. Petting the totem-animal.
4. Burying the dead totem-animal.
5. Respect paid to the totem-animal.
6. (*a*) Lucky animals, (*b*) unlucky animals.
7. Adoption of (*a*) totem-marks, (*b*) totem-names, (*c*) totem-dress.
8. (*a*) Birth, (*b*) marriage, (*c*) death-customs.
9. Magical powers derived from the totem.
10. Local cults.
11. Customary rents.

Following Mr. Gomme, I call the first nine of the above superstitions "categoric"; the animals to which they apply I call "totem objects."

II.—Animals Used in Augury and Magic.

As a matter of convenience I class separately the beliefs about ominous animals. This section might, however, as I

In view of the fact that many tribes have none but animal totems, the absence of totemistic plant superstitions would partly tell against my argument.

Archæological Review, iii., 217, 350 ff.

endeavoured to show in a discussion of Welsh superstitions,¹ be justifiably included among the "categories," in spite of the apparent multiplicity of possible origins of this ominous character of animals. I include in this division further the use of the animal in (*a*) magic, (*b*) medicine, (*c*) divination.

III.—Annual Ceremonies.

1. Sacrifice ; 2. Communion with the sacred animal.

This analysis is, I think, fairly exhaustive ; it is in the main based on the superstitions actually found among totems. There are probably few, if any, European superstitions relating to animals that cannot be classified according to the above scheme. As evidence of the former existence of totemism in Europe, the sections are, however, of unequal value, and I propose to deal with the more important ones only.

This will naturally not permit me to show the cumulative character of the evidence with regard to single animals. More important, however, than this cumulative character is the local distribution of the superstitions with which I deal ; and I prefer to emphasize this feature rather than to analyse all the superstitions relating to a small number of animals.

I lay down at the outset the principle that no theory of the origin of animal superstitions can disregard this local character of the beliefs ; one parish respects an animal and will not kill it ; their neighbours regard the same animal with indifference, and even aversion. Even where no such striking contrast is present, the local character of the superstition is always very prominent. Yet in spite of this we find such an agreement between distant regions, both in custom and belief, as to exclude the idea of a purely local origin of the superstitions. Special explanations, alluring enough when only the single case is considered, are manifestly impossible when we have to deal with a great mass of

¹ *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxxviii., No. 3.

facts presenting the same features and gathered over a wide area. I emphasize at the outset the importance of this local character of beliefs, which are, in another sense, very far from being local, since they are distributed over all Europe.

The portions of the above scheme dealt with in this paper are the following:—

I. TOTEMIC AND QUASI-TOTEMIC.

1. *Descent from the totem animal.*

1A. *Quasi-Totemic superstitions and tales.*

(a) Stories of Animal Ancestors, &c.

i. Animal births.

ii. Swan maiden type.

iii. Midas type; (a) Sagas; (β) Local legends.

iv. Helpful animals.

v. Baby-bringers.

(b) Animal Form.

i. "Soul-animals."

ii. "Witch-animals."

iii. Animal transformed man.

iv. Animal can assume human form.

(c) Animal as Life-Index.

(d) Animal Genius.

i. Aettar-fylgia.

ii. Fylgia.

(e) Animal Substitutes in Witchcraft.

(f) Werwolves.

2. *The Animal tabooed or sacrosanct.*

(a) Animals which may not be killed.

(b) Animals which may not be eaten, touched, or used.

3. *The animal kept in captivity for magical or other superstitious purposes or fed or otherwise petted.*

4. *Burying the dead animal.*

9. *Magical powers derived from the animal.*

II. ANIMALS USED IN AUGURY AND MAGIC.

III. ANNUAL CEREMONIES.

1. *Sacrifice.*

(a) The Hunt.

- (b) The Hahnenschlag.
 - (c) The Simple Form.
 - i. First seen, killed.
 - ii. Killed as talisman (α) on given date, (β) at given season, (γ) at all seasons.
 - iii. Killed annually, no magic.
 - (d) Torture Form.
 - (e) Precipice Form.
 - (f) Fire Form.
- 1A. *Procession.*
2. *Communion with the sacred animal.*
- (a) By Distribution.
 - (b) By Eating—
 - i. The animal.
 - ii. The "animal-cake."

In the form of an appendix to III. 1. I deal briefly with "Games of Sacrifice," including under this name Blind Man's Buff and Cock Warning.

I now proceed to consider the above points in detail.

I. 1. The section of DESCENT FROM THE TOTEM-ANIMAL is, as might have been expected, the one in which I have least evidence to present. Such evidence as there is, however, is incontestable.

There are in the West of Ireland (and, I believe, in some of the Scotch islands)¹ unmistakable traces of a seal-clan. The clansman is named after the seal, conceives himself to be of the blood of the eponym animal, and refrains from killing the seal or using it for food if he can possibly avoid it. According to another account, some of the clan (Conneely) were once changed into seals, and since then no Conneely can kill a seal without incurring bad luck.²

We find in Ossory an almost parallel case of a local wolf clan. The account given by Giraldus is interesting as presenting a close resemblance to many werewolf legends.

In a third case—the cat-tribes of Ireland and Scotland—we have the descent from the eponym animal and its use as a crest.

¹*F.*, vi., 223.

² *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, ii., 447.

Other examples are personal—Conaire, Cuchulainn, &c.¹

I here pause a moment to emphasize the importance of these facts.

In the case of the seal the distribution of the beliefs is especially noticeable; they are not confined to one locality, nor yet are they universal in the localities in which they are found. Geographically their extension is considerable, but they are held only by certain persons in each district. We have, in fact, the totem-clan itself, save that the social organisation has disappeared.

In the other cases we must recognise rather the local clans into which totem clans tend under certain conditions to pass. Their totemistic origin cannot, however, be questioned, except by those who also dispute this interpretation of the facts about the seal-people and their beliefs.

I need hardly point out that, having once established the former existence of totemism in Britain, we can at once claim for the "categoric superstitions" a very different value. The presence of totemism in the past once admitted, we have only to turn to the table of totem-objects and select those cases in which the evidence is cumulative, to form a provisional list of totems. Given superstitions totemic in form side by side with undoubted survivals of totemism, the *onus probandi* lies on those who deny the totemic origin of the former.

More or less closely connected with the section just dealt with are a number of superstitions.

IA. QUASI-TOTEMIC SUPERSTITIONS AND TALES.

(a) *Stories of Animal Ancestors, etc.*

i. Various Märchen found in Hesse and Swabia relate how, an unusual number of children being born at a birth, the mother ordered them to be drowned, with the exception of one; the person to whom this was entrusted was ordered to say that they were dogs. Similar stories are

For the refs. v. *Arch. Rev.*, *loc. cit.*

found in Thuringia, Holstein, and elsewhere. Liebrecht conjectures that the original form of the story was one of descent from a dog. This view is supported by the fact that a dog appears in the arms of Hesse, and that the Hessians were termed "Hundhessen" even as late as the 16th century.¹

ii. Another type of story is that of the maiden whose skin-dress is carried off by a man, whom she is thus compelled to marry. In view of the facts already mentioned about the seal-clan, it is noteworthy that in the Faroe Islands we find a seal-maiden story.²

iiia. To stories of the Midas group it would perhaps be unwise to attach much importance. There can be little doubt that the story came to Brittany and Ireland from the East, where most of the variants are to be found, and where the more archaic form of the story is told.³

iiib. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that local legends of the same type are found. In Lleyn (Carnarvonshire) it is related that March Amheirchion, the lord of Castell March, had horse's ears, as in Irish story.⁴ In the absence of proof it is gratuitous to connect this with the Midas group; possibly the relation is just the reverse, and stories of the Midas group lived where they found the congenial soil of a local legend.

Among legends of this group is that of Siward, who was the son of a bear and had bear's ears.⁵ Brochmail was a tusked king of Powis. A tusked or pig-headed birth is still said to appear periodically in the family.⁶

¹ *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 21.

² *Antiquarisk Tidskrift*, 1852, p. 191; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv., 106, and Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, for other examples.

³ Ciszewski, *Bajka o Midasowych usgach*.

⁴ *Y Cymmrodor*, vi., 183; I have been unable to identify the source from which Miss Cox, *Introduction to Folklore*, p. 73, quotes. Keating, *History of Ireland*, i., 359.

⁵ *Gloucestershire Folklore*, p. 12.

⁶ Warter, *An Old Shropshire Oak*, i., 203; cf. also Rolland, i., 13. For a belief in animal ancestors in Ireland v. *Erin*, vi., 397.

(iv.) We find certain animals associated with certain families, such as the spiders with the Bruces; in some cases they are also borne in the arms, and a story is frequently told to explain the connection, according to which the animal once helped a member of the family.¹

(v.) To certain animals is assigned the important function of bringing the babies. I do not venture to lay much stress on this sub-section, for someone will probably inquire whether the gooseberry bush from which the English babies come is also a totem. The facts are nevertheless worthy of notice. The best known example is of course the stork; but we find in addition the ladybird fulfilling this office in South Germany; in Bohemia the crow and sometimes the kite; elsewhere the cabbage-butterfly, or the frog, undertakes the task. According to a slightly different account the children come from the hare's nest,² or the ass's spring.³

(b) Animal Forms, etc.

(i.) Closely connected with the foregoing sub-section is the belief in the animal form of the soul. In the British Isles we find the following among the soul-animals—ant, butterfly, gull, moth, sparrow, goatsucker, cat, swan, and spider. In Germany we find—the bat, butterfly, bee, cricket, fowl, mouse, peewit, pigeon, raven, snake, swan, toad, and weasel.⁴ In Rügen it is believed that the seal is descended from drowned human beings.⁵

(ii.) Closely connected with the foregoing is the belief in the animal form of human beings, especially witches. In Germany they appear as bulls, butterflies, cats, donkeys,

¹ Swainson, *Folklore of Birds*, p. 486; cf. Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 7; cf. ii., 344 ff.

² Ploss, *Das Kind*, i., 12; Schulenburg, *Wend. Volkstum*, i., 94.

³ Mannhardt, *Germ. Mythen*, p. 411.

⁴ Meyer, *passim*; *Arch. Rev.*, iii., 226; MS. notes, &c.

⁵ Mannhardt, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 92; cf. *Globus*, xiv., 287; *Jour. Anth.* I., ii., 447.

goats, deer, horses, hares, eagles, foxes, magpies, moths, pigs, swans, toads, and weasels.¹ On the authority of Giraldus we may add the wolf in Ireland, and on that of Saxo, the walrus in Norway. The facts admit, however, of another explanation, to which I shall refer later.

(iii.) Widely distributed also is the correlative of this belief. In some cases animals are regarded as human beings under a curse.

In the Isle of Man the wren is said to be a transformed fairy;² so, too, the toad in Sicily,³ the gull,⁴ lizard,⁵ cuckoo,⁶ mole, magpie, and squirrel⁷ in Germany, the woodpecker⁸ in Scandinavia, and the peewit⁹ and owl¹⁰ in England.

(iv.) In the Faroe Isles the seals appear, like the wren in the Isle of Man, once a year in human form.¹¹

In other cases the belief takes the form that animals can assume human shape. In Perthshire this was believed of cats, hares, and magpies.¹²

In a third form of the belief, certain animals—the stork, for example—are men in other countries.¹³

(c) *The Animal as Life-index.*

(i.) Some animals, usually domestic or semi-domestic,

¹ Schulenburg, p. 157; Müllenhof, *passim*; MS. notes.

² *Arch. Rev.*, iii., 225.

³ De Gubernatis, p. 629.

⁴ Müllenhof, p. 137.

⁵ Meier, p. 217.

⁶ Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, pp. 515, 534, 571; Kuhn, *Nordd. S.*, 289; Meier, 371, 372; for other refs. v. Wackernagel, iii., 237.

⁷ Meier, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *F.*, vi., 65.

F.L.J., vii., 57.

¹⁰ *Hamlet*, iv., 5.

¹¹ Grundtvig, *Folkeviser*, ii., 76 n.; *cf.* *Antiquarsk T.*, *loc. cit.*

¹² *A. R.*, iii., 225.

¹³ *Skattegraveren*, viii., 117; Kamp, *Folkeminder*, 221; Kristensen, *Sagn*, ii., 140; Stöber, *Elsäss. Volksbüchlein* (1859), i., 165; *Évangile des quenouilles*, p. 94; *cf.* Aelian, *De nat. anim.*, iii., 23.

are regarded as being so intimately associated with the master or mistress that the lives of both come to an end simultaneously. The snake and the toad are very generally termed "Hausvater," &c., and the death of the animal involves the death of the human being.¹ He who kills a swallow kills his parents² (Tirol), mother³ (Ruthenia), child⁴ (Niederlausitz). The dog is believed in Lancashire to die at the same moment as its owner;⁵ so, too, the cat and cock in Switzerland,⁶ the black hen in Thuringia,⁷ and the black ox or cow elsewhere.⁸

In Brittany two crows are said to come and perch on the roof when the head of the family is dying;⁹ another account says that two crows are assigned to each farm and foretell the events in the family.¹⁰ They seem to be analogous to the house-snake of Germany.

(d) *The Animal as Genius.*

(i.) Connected with this belief is the Icelandic idea of the ættar-fylgia; this is a guardian spirit in animal form belonging to each family, and as such attached to the dwelling of the family.¹¹

(ii.) This leads us to the fylgia or personal guardian spirit, also conceived as an animal, which accompanies or precedes its owner on a journey in the form of a dog, raven, fly, &c.¹² In Norway the fylgia is believed to take the form

¹ Haltrich, *zur V. der Siebenb. Sachsen*, vii., 4; Rochholz, i., 146; Grohmann, No. 557; MS. Notes.

² Wuttke, p. 130.

³ Kaindl, p. 104.

⁴ MS. note.

⁵ *A. R.*, iii., 228.

⁶ Rochholz, i., 161.

⁷ Witzschel, ii., 252.

⁸ Grimm, *Aberg.*, No. 887.

⁹ Wolf, ii., 253; *Ausland*, 1846, p. 886.

¹⁰ Souvestre, *Les derniers Bretons*, i., 181.

¹¹ Maurer, *Isländ. Märchen*, p. 85.

¹² Maurer, *loc. cit.*; cf. Cleasby & Vigfusson's *Dictionary*.

of the animal most appropriate to the temper of the owner.¹

(e) *Animal Substitutes in Witchcraft.*

We may further note those cases in which some part of an animal, usually the heart, is used to bewitch a person. Among the animals so used are the hare, frog, pigeon, and sheep.² These practices must be clearly distinguished from those in which the bewitched animal is used to compel the presence of the witch. The analogy is with the use of a mannikin of paste or wax to represent the person who is to be bewitched.

(f) *Werwolves.*

I can do no more than mention in passing the belief in werwolves, which is allied to more than one of the superstitions detailed above.

The beliefs just detailed show close analogies with those of totem-tribes, and in certain cases can hardly be derived from anything but totemism of the individual form found in America.

I do not, of course, assert that these superstitions *must* be derived from totemism. I claim, however, that totemism explains them at least as well as any other theory. Looked at in the light of the facts to which I shall now call your attention, the totemic explanation is, I venture to say, by no means improbable.

Students of mythology and folklore have never been found wanting in ingenuity; and it will no doubt be possible in the present case also to suggest other explanations of the facts. But one theory always holds the field, provided it is not self-contradictory, until a better one is forthcoming. Wide-reaching explanations have, perhaps, their defects. But a preference in the opposite direction savours of the spirit which explained the fossil shells in the Alps as

¹ Meyer, p. 100.

² Hartland, *Leg. Pers.*, ii., 105; MS. notes.

relics of the pilgrims who crossed the mountains on their way to Rome. Mrs. Partington with her broom has never seemed to me quite an ideal figure.

I. 2. THE ANIMAL TABOOED OR SACROSANCT.

I now turn to the taboos. This section is highly important on its own account, but inasmuch as it exemplifies that local character of superstitions on which I have laid so much stress, it is not too much to say that it is the one on which more than any other the theory must stand or fall.

(a) *The Animal must not be Killed.*

To the list of animals which enjoy a local sanctity may be prefixed those which seem to be respected everywhere—the stork, robin, swallow, ladybird. They are, however, like many other animals on this list, either killed or carried in procession annually.

The following are respected locally :—

Bat : Baschurch (Salop).¹

Bee : Russia, Normandy, Prague, and many other places.²

Beetle : Reutlingen (Swabia).³

Blackbird : Salop, Montgomeryshire.⁴

Butterfly, white : Llanidloes.⁵

———— coloured : W. Scotland.⁶

Cat : Zielensig (Mark), Berlin, Niederlausitz,† Prague, Bavaria, parts of France, Thuringia, N.E. Scotland, &c.⁷

Cockchafer : parts of Germany.⁸

¹ Burne, p. 214.

² De Gubernatis, p. 507 n. ; De Nore, p. 270 ; Grohmann, No. 602.

³ MS. note.

⁴ Burne, p. 214 ; MS. note.

⁵ *Mont. Coll.*, x., 260.

⁶ Napier, p. 116.

⁷ *Z. des V. für V.*, i., 182, viii., 399 ; *Z. für Eth.*, xv., 90 ; MS. note ; Grohmann, No. 357 ; Liebrecht, No. 64 ; Witzschel, ii., 277 ; Gregor, p. 123.

⁸ *Am Urdhsbr.*, Oct., 1882, p. 15.

Cockroach : Ruthenia, Lancashire.¹

Cormorant : Rerrick (Scotland).²

Cricket : Wales,† Ireland, Ruthenia, Carinthia, France, &c.³

Crossbill : Bohemia.⁴

Crow : Lechrain, Borgue (Scotland).⁵

Cuckoo : Hampshire, Connemara, Wales, Borgue, Finland,
among the Slavs, and in Sweden.⁶

Dog : parts of France.⁷

Duck (Bergente) : Sylt (?)⁸

Eel : Eibo.⁹

Frog : Ruthenia.¹⁰

Fly : Mecklenburg.¹¹

Hare : Russia, Pennant Melangell.¹²

Lizard : Sicily, Pecek (Bohemia), Waldeck, Poland, S.
Sporades, &c.¹³

¹ Kaindl, p. 105 ; Rolland, iii., 286. The presence of this insect, which only appeared in Europe a few centuries ago, in the list need not be regarded as a serious objection to the theory suggested. 1. It is very difficult to find out what the dialectical names do really mean ; "Schabe" in S. Germany means a sort of louse. It is therefore possible that another insect is meant. 2. It is certain that in many cases transference of superstitions has taken place ; the name "black beetle" shows that it has been universally classed among beetles ; it has also taken over the superstitions of the beetle family. Cf. Raven, rook, crow, jackdaw.

² *Ethnog. R.*, No. 378.

³ MS. note ; *F.*, v., 198 ; Kaindl, p. 105 ; *Z. für d. Myth.*, iii., 29 ; Liebrecht, No. 165, &c.

⁴ Grohmann, No. 524.

⁵ Leoprechting, p. 89 ; *Ethnog. R.*, No. 399.

⁶ *F. L. J.*, i., 258, 394 ; *F.*, ii., 246 ; Owen, p. 317 ; *Ethnog. R.*, No. 394 ; Wander, ii., 1699 ; Arndt, *Reise in Schweden*, iii., 19.

⁷ Liebrecht, No. 64.

⁸ Müllenhof, p. 137.

⁹ *Globus*, iv., 333.

¹⁰ *Globus*, lxix., 73.

¹¹ Bartsch, *Sagen*, ii., 186.

¹² MS. note ; *Mont. Coll.*, xii., 56.

De Gubernatis, p. 634 ; Grohmann, No. 596 ; Curtze, p. 182 ; *Am Urquell*, iii., 272 ; *F.*, x., 182.

- Magpie : Anglesey,† W. Ireland, N.E. Scotland, Sweden,
E. Prussia,† Tirol, Crossen (Mark), &c.¹
- Mouse, white : Schönhirde (Bohemia).²
- Owl : Mecklenburg.³
- Ox, black : Germany.⁴
- Peewit : the Wotyaks.⁵
- Pigeon : Moscow,† Bohemia, Swabia.⁶
- Quail : Münsterland.⁷
- Redstart : Bohemia.⁸
- Raven : Swabia, Lechrain, Sweden, Llansaintffraid (?)⁹.
- Sea-swallow : Camargue, W. Ireland.¹⁰
- Snake : Tirol,† Silesia, Ruthenia, Bohemia, &c. ; in Lützenau the counts of Lynar respect the snakes in their park ; they also have a snake as their crest.¹¹
- Spider : Sweden, Thuringia, Tirol, Silesia, Ruthenia, E. Prussia,† Niederlausitz,† Cornwall, Suffolk, &c.¹²
- Swift : Hampshire.¹³
- Toad : Sicily, Tirol, &c.¹⁴

¹ MS. notes ; *F. L. R.*, iv., 107 ; *F. L. J.*, ii., 258 ; Gregor, p. 138 ; Gaslander, p. 42 ; *Z. des V. für V.*, viii., 170 ; Kuhn, *Nordd. S.*, p. 453 ; *cf. F.*, v. 283.

² Grohmann, No. 405.

³ *Jahrb. des V. für Mechl. Ges.*, ii., 123.

⁴ Grimm, *Aberglauben*, No. 887.

⁵ *Globus*, xl., 325.

⁶ MS. note ; Grohmann, No. 551 ; Meier, p. 217.

⁷ Strackerjan, i., 45.

⁸ Grohmann, No. 509.

⁹ Birlinger, i., 426 ; Leoprechting, p. 89 ; Gaslander, p. 48 ; *Byegones*, Sept., 1872.

¹⁰ Rolland, ii., 387 ; *F. L. J.*, iv., 253.

¹¹ MS. notes ; Peter, ii., 33 ; Kaindl, p. 103 ; Grohmann, No. 1659 ; many other authorities might be cited.

¹² Wuttke, p. 130 ; Kaindl, p. 105 ; Gaslander, p. 43 ; MS. notes ; *F. L. R.*, v., 89 ; *Suffolk F.*, p. 7 ; Miss Marriage has given me the following Essex rhyme :—

“ If you would live and thrive
Let the spider go alive.”

¹³ *F. L. J.*, i., 394.

¹⁴ De Gubernatis, p. 629 ; *Z. für d. Myth.*, i., 7 ; Wuttke, p. 95 ; MS. notes.

Wagtail: Wetterau, Languedoc. (I am not sure that the statement of Sloet in *De dieren* refers to a superstition.)¹

Weasel: Montagne noire, Ruthenia, among the Wends.²

Woodpecker: Sweden.³

Wren: Ireland, Scotland, Wales,† England, France.⁴

Weevil: Esthonia.⁵

To the animals above mentioned may be added, on the testimony of Cæsar, the cock and goose in S. England.⁶ The seal in Ireland has already been mentioned.⁷

We have therefore in all 47 animals which are or have been tabooed in various parts of Europe.

(b) *The Animal may not be Eaten, Touched, or Used.*

In this sub-section, complementary to the preceding, are found 18 of the animals on the above list. We have, in addition, the following for the first time:—

Stagbeetle: Ausbach.⁸

Lark: N.E. Scotland.⁹

Mole: Chemnitz.¹⁰

Wild duck: N.E. Scotland.¹¹

Yellowhammer: Rhuddlan.^{12†}

Rook: N.E. Scotland.¹³

¹ Wuttke, p. 130; Rolland, ii., 228; Sloet, p. 221.

² Nore, p. 98; Kaindl, p. 103; Schulenburg, p. 259.

³ Gaslander, p. 48.

⁴ Mair, *Handbook of Proverbs*, p. 52; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii., 142; MS. note; Brand, iii., 194.

⁵ Holzmayer, *Osiliana*, p. 105 n. in *Verp. der Esthn. Ges zu Dorpat*, vol. vii.

⁶ *De Bello Gallico*, v., 12.

⁷ To these should perhaps be added the tit (Sloet, *De dieren*, p. 222).

⁸ Grimm, No. 705.

⁹ Gregor, p. 139.

¹⁰ Grimm, No. 743.

¹¹ Gregor, p. 146.

¹² MS. note.

¹³ Gregor, p. 136.

Fish: parts of Ireland and Scotland.¹

Songbirds: Germany.²

Goose: Great Crosby.³

Wildfowl and poultry: S. England and Wales.⁴

In these two sub-sections, then, I have shown that more than 50 birds and animals enjoy a local sanctity.⁵ This reveals the existence of local cults of extent hitherto unsuspected, which embrace a large proportion of the commoner animals of Europe.

The animals in this section I distinguish as "taboo-animals."

Passing over the two remaining classes of taboos, I will now call your attention to—

I. 3.—ANIMALS KEPT IN CAPTIVITY FOR MAGICAL OR OTHER SUPERSTITIOUS PURPOSES, OR FED OR OTHERWISE PETTED.

Mr. Lang has argued that these cases have no evidential value. The schoolboy, he says, has guinea-pigs and mice, but they are not totems.⁶ But no one has ever suggested that the mice are kept in captivity for any other reason than that they afford their owner pleasure. The schoolboy does not keep pets because his father kept them before him. In folklore, on the other hand, the case is just reversed. Customs are kept up for no other reason than that they are customs. Mr. Lang's criticism neglects this important difference, and does not, therefore, bear upon the question at issue.

The most important example in this section is a custom

¹ Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 170.

² Wuttke, p. 130.

³ *A. R.*, iii., 232.

⁴ *A. R.*, iii., 233.

⁵ To these may be added the cases in which there is a superstitious aversion to using the feathers of certain birds in feather-beds. These birds are: the hen, goose, pigeon, partridge, and sometimes wild birds generally.

⁶ *Folk-Lore*, i., 12.

practised at Llanidloes.¹ White butterflies are, as in the West of Scotland,² fed on sugar and water. Any doubt which might be felt as to the character of this practice is removed when we find that the coloured butterflies are killed as a part of the same custom. I cannot now discuss the interpretation of the latter part of the custom. I shall have occasion, however, to cite some facts subsequently which, perhaps, throw some light upon it.

In this case there is nothing to show the object of the ceremony. In Sicily, however, the toad is kept in captivity,³ like the mouse and the kingfisher⁴ in Bohemia, for the purpose of ensuring good luck. It is the custom in many parts of Germany to keep a crossbill in captivity;⁵ it is believed to attract diseases. A kind of hawk is encouraged to nest on the houses in South Germany;⁶ it is believed to protect the house. The peewit seems to have been kept for a similar purpose in the Middle Ages.⁷

Other birds are kept for purposes of divination, among them the pigeon,⁸ and in former days the wren and raven.⁹ The use of the hare by Boadicea is another example of the custom.

Domestic animals are also used for similar objects. I will here only quote one instance. The Lapps at the North Cape are said to consult with a black cat,¹⁰ whom they regard as an ancestor, as to what it is advisable to do in cases of difficulty.

I. 4.—BURYING THE DEAD ANIMAL.

A practice which seems to bear clear marks of a totemistic origin is the burying of dead animals for other than

¹ *Mont. Coll.*, x., 260.

² Napier, p. 115.

³ De Gubernatis, p. 629.

⁴ Grohmann, 405, 443.

⁵ Jühling, 247, 249; *Z. für d. Myth.*, i., 209; Heyl, 163, &c.

⁶ Mone's *Anz.*, vii., 430.

⁷ Mone, viii., 614; cf. *Physiologus*, Graff's *Diatisca*, iii., 38.

⁸ Grohmann, 554.

⁹ *F. L. J.*, ii., 65.

¹⁰ Mone, *Symb. u. Myth.*, i., 39.

sanitary reasons. We have seen that the crossbill is believed to attract disease; in some parts it is believed to die in consequence; it must then be buried.¹

I shall deal in a few minutes with the animals annually sacrificed; in certain cases they are, instead of being eaten, buried with considerable ceremony. In the Isle of Man the wren was formerly interred in the churchyard.² The cat is buried in Bohemia,³ the sardine in Spain,⁴ the stockfish in Portugal,⁵ and the rabbit at Biddenham.⁶ Elsewhere the animal must be buried when it is found dead; this is done with the sacred fishes of Nant Peris.⁷

Although from lack of precise information I have not been able to include the mole among the animals which may not be killed, there are grounds for believing that it was formerly respected in some parts. The present form of the belief is that a mole may be killed but must be immediately buried, sometimes not by the person who has killed it.⁸

I. 9.—MAGICAL POWERS DERIVED FROM THE ANIMAL.

To this important section I can allude only in passing. Powers of healing are ascribed to those who have eaten eagle's flesh,⁹ or in whose hand a mole or worm¹⁰ has died. In other cases the powers are believed to be acquired by touching the living animal,¹¹ or by smearing some animal product on the hands.¹²

A highly important point in connection with these ceremonies is that they must be undergone at a certain age in some cases, and in others must be repeated annually.

¹ MS. note.

³ Grohmann, 367.

⁵ *Morgenblatt*, 1838, No. 35, p. 138.

⁶ *F. L. R.*, i., 243.

⁸ Grohmann, 388; MS. note.

¹⁰ Jühling, pp. 121, 123, 139.

¹² Jühling, p. 38.

² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii., 142.

⁴ Loning, *Das Spanische Volk*, p. 71.

⁷ *Byegones*, Nov. 25th, 1896.

⁹ *Byegones*, April 10th, 1895.

¹¹ Gregor, 144; *F.*, x., 252.

It is tempting to see in the former a survival of initiation ceremonies, and to connect the latter with other annual ceremonies of which I shall have more to say in a few moments.

The importance of these customs leads me to treat them separately from the use of the animal in magic, from which they do not differ essentially.

Closely connected with the magical powers of the animal, dead or alive, is its ability to foresee and foretell the future.

II.—Animals used in Augury and Magic.

Into the questions raised by superstitions as to (1) omens and (2) magic I cannot enter at length. I will do no more than call attention to the main points to be considered.

1. (a) "Taboo" animals give both favourable and unfavourable omens; their appearance is frequently believed to presage a death.
- (b) "Lucky" animals¹ give both good and bad omens; their appearance is frequently believed to presage a death.
- (c) Popular language makes the animal itself the cause of the event foretold: it "bringt Glück," "porte bonheur," &c. The ill-luck may be averted by killing the animal.
2. (a) As I shall show later, "taboo" animals, sacrificed once a year, are powerful in magic.
- (b) Unlucky, no less than lucky, animals are employed in magic.

We may conjecture that all "taboo" animals used in magic were originally sacrificed annually. But if the magical powers of the animal were a result of its sanctity,

¹ By "lucky" animals I mean those whose presence (not apparition) is considered lucky.

the remaining animals used in magic were probably "taboo" animals.

"Lucky" animals are taboo. But "taboo" animals are not always lucky. We have other instances in which sacred animals have in course of time become separated into two classes—holy and unclean animals. We may conjecture that the "lucky" and "unlucky" animals are the result of a similar process. They were originally all taboo. *Mutatis mutandis* this is also true of the ominous animals.

The facts are difficult to explain on the assumption that we must look for their origin to more than one source.

Admitting that in later times other causes have played their part, it seems clear that we must derive the great mass of the usages under consideration from a period when animals were sacred, and, as the facts which I shall now bring to your notice seem to suggest, solemnly sacrificed once a year.

III.—Annual Ceremonies.

1. SACRIFICE.—In the two great totem-areas of Australia and North America sacrifice is either unknown or unimportant. Australia has no domestic animals; America had only the dog, and the dog was the only animal commonly sacrificed.¹

It is possible, therefore, that a connection exists between sacrifice and domestication (*i.e.* for many peoples between sacrifice and civilization), rather than, as Professor Jevons maintains, between taboo and domestication.² We find traces, in European customs, of a custom of retaining the victim in captivity for a period before the sacrifice. We may conjecture that this practice would be suggested by considerations of convenience in comparatively early times;

¹ *Relations des Jes.*, 1667, p. 12; Perrot, *passim*; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 207, &c.

² I find Dr. Hahn has made the same suggestion, to explain the domestication of a single animal, in *Demeter u. Baubo*, p. 28.

possibly the desire to have the totem at hand for guidance by means of omens and for protection contributed its share to the development of the custom, which, once established, would readily grow into one of keeping the sacred animals in captivity in greater or smaller numbers without any definite intention of sacrificing them, *i.e.* merely as sacred animals, like the geese in the Capitol or the droves of sacred horses in Germany.

In this position the animals would gradually accustom themselves to the company of man, *i.e.* they would become tame. A further step was taken when man, instead of eating the sacred animal itself, began to use its products as a means of effecting communion with the tribal god. The animals were in this way gradually accustomed to yield, for the use of man, the milk (and other products) which they in a wild state produce for the benefit of their young.

Sacrifices were originally annual; later they were performed more frequently, originally, perhaps, from a desire to secure the presence and assistance of the god, afterwards from a growing appreciation of the merits of roast pig and other delicacies.

In the case of the uneatable or less tasty animals, this motive was naturally weak or entirely absent; these they were content to sacrifice as before, once a year. In the case of the other animals also there was, however, perhaps a tendency for the original yearly sacrifice to retain a greater importance than those subsequently engrafted on it.

The sacrifice was performed by members of the clan; the institution of priesthood was unknown; none but members of the clan might take part in the sacramental meal. The clan was not, however, confined to a given area; this meal would, therefore, be celebrated wherever members of the clan were residing. This type we may term "clan-sacrifice."

The totem-clan, however, tended to develop; it expanded into a larger group. This explains the position of certain animals like the great hare of the Algonquin tribes. In other cases the totem-tribe tended to pass into a local group. This resulted in the sacred animal of the clan becoming the sacred animal of the local group; its worship was confined to a certain area. This type may be distinguished as "tribal sacrifice."

We find, as I shall endeavour to show, examples of both types in Europe at the present day. These survivals I arrange in three groups, which may be termed the "Hunt," the "Hahnenschlag," and the "simple" classes.

Most of these sacrifices present one or more of the following features:—

(1) There is no priest or other person specially selected for the task of slaying the victim; the slayer of the animal is, however, frequently the recipient of special honours and a title which he bears for a year.¹ (2) The ceremony is performed once a year, usually on a specified day; the animal is occasionally selected some time before the actual sacrifice. (3) The use of iron is frequently tabooed, and the animal may not be shorn. (4) The head of the animal is frequently struck off and is specially sacred.² (5) The sacrifice is preceded or followed by a procession, in which the sacred animal is paraded round the village or town.

¹ Handelmann, p. 25; Mannhardt, *Korndämonen*, 16; Peter, ii., 278; Nore, p. 20; *Globus*, vii., 304; De Gubernatis, 475 n.; Rolland, vi., 104, 175; Sébillot, *Coutumes pop. de la H. B.*, 251; Meyrac, *Traditions des Ardennes*, pp. 66, 67 n., cf. p. 61; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Cal. belge*, 131, 341, &c. We find a king in the egg-games and at cock-fights; Sébillot, Meyrac, *loc. cit.* For an interesting and important parallel to the customs in this section v. *Globus*, xvii., 24.

² There is an obvious connection between this custom and that of fixing carved or real heads round the fields, on the houses, &c. Perhaps the explanation is that the head was regarded as the residence of the soul. In West Prussia a method of preventing a dead member of a family from inflicting disease on the living is to open the coffin and cut off the head. *Globus*, xix., 96. It is further a well-known prehistoric burial custom.

(6) The animal is commonly either dismembered and distributed, or eaten at a common meal. (7) There are traces of the common meal being confined to the kin in some cases, in others to the inhabitants of the locality. (8) In some cases cakes in the form of, or bearing the name of, the animal, are substituted for the animal itself.

I will now deal briefly with the three forms of sacrifice.

(a) *The Hunt.*

We have already seen that the wren is a taboo-animal in the west of Europe. There is, however, a widespread custom, discussed at length by Dr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*, of hunting it annually; this hunt was commonly at Christmastide or New Year, but is also found at other periods of the year.¹ The wren was usually killed in the process; it was then carried round to all the houses, a feather being in some cases left at each house; to this feather were attributed magical properties. In other cases the bird was carried round alive. In Wales there are traces of a custom of roasting, *i.e.* eating the wren. In the Isle of Man the featherless body was buried.

Other customs of this type are the following:—

Bull: Stamford.²

Cock: Guben, Belgium.³

Deer: Oxfordshire at Whitsuntide, Epping Forest at Easter, Ireland St. Martin's Day.⁴

Hare: Leicester, Coleshill, Caistor, and elsewhere in South England at Easter, Llanfechain in October, Ireland on St. Martin's Day.⁵

¹ *Golden Bough*, ii., 141 ff; *Byegones*, Sept., 1872, April 22, 1885; *Notes and Queries*, 4th S., ix., 25; *Suffolk Folklore*, 125 *Ethnog. S.*, No. 199.

² Hone, 1482; *cf.* *F.*, vii., 385.

³ MS. note; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, 200.

⁴ *F.*, viii., 310; Hone, ii., 460; *F. L. R.*, iv., 108, *cf.* v., 166.

⁵ *F.*, iii., 442; *Sussex Daily News*, June 10, 1895; *Mont. Coll.*, xvii., 118; *F. L. R.*, iv., 108.

Pig: Würzburg at Martinstide,¹ (probably a pig-baiting is meant).

Owl: in Suffolk at Christmas.²

Ram: Eton and East Wrotham.³

Squirrel: Wales, Suffolk at Christmas; Cammin (Pomerania) and Harz Mountains at Easter; Lelbach (Waldeck) at Ascensiontide; Easling on Nov. 30th; the Wotyaks, Oct. 1st.⁴

We may perhaps add the fox, which was one of the animals hunted in Ireland on St. Martin's Day.⁵

(b) *The Hahnenschlag.*

This type I name after the custom which is in modern folklore the commonest and best preserved of the many variants—that of striking blindfold at a cock.

There are, however, some transitional forms which must first be dealt with. In Whitsun-week a lamb was formerly provided at Kidlington (Oxfordshire), after which the girls of the township ran with their thumbs tied and tried to catch the animal with their mouths; the successful one was proclaimed Lady of the Lamb, which was carried before her to the green. The next day the lamb was eaten at a feast at which the lady presided.⁶

A variant of this custom is the catching the greasy pig,

¹ *Z. für d. Myth.*, i., 107.

² Brand, i., 268; on Valentine's day in the West of England three single young men had to go out and catch an owl and two sparrows, which they carried round the village; Hone, i., 227.

³ Brand, ii., 314.

⁴ Owen, p. 351; Brand, i., 268; Wolf, i., 78; Kuhn, *Nordd. S.*, p. 374; cf. Liebrecht, *ziir V.*, 261; Curtze, p. 441; Hone, i., 1539; Buck, *Die Wotjaken*, p. 162. Mr. Hartland informs me that it used to be hunted at Dursley on May-morning.

⁵ *F. L. R.*, iv., 108. Miss Marriage informs me that one of the palace courts at Dresden was used for fox-hunting. cf. Preller, *Roman Myth.*,² p. 436. The gulls were hunted on the Schlei on July 23rd (Schütze, *Idiotikon*, iii., 97.)

⁶ *F.*, viii., 315.

found in Schleswig-Holstein and Hungerford;¹ a pig shorn and greased had to be caught by the tail. In Belgium the eel had to be similarly caught.² Climbing the greasy pole is another form of the same custom.³

In Spain and Germany it was the practice in the Middle Ages to let loose a pig in an enclosure; it was then pursued by blindfolded men with sticks.⁴

We have thus a series of transitions leading from the hunt to the Hahnenschlag. In the many variants of the latter custom we may distinguish four main forms.

(i.) The cock is (α) buried in the earth up to the neck, (β) covered with a pot, (γ) carried on a man's shoulders, &c., and struck at or beaten by persons with their eyes blindfolded.⁵

(ii.) The cock is hung up in a pot or from a line and thrown at with sticks; in other cases the competitors ride underneath and endeavour to seize the bird; elsewhere it is shot at.⁶

(iii.) The cock is solemnly condemned to death; its forgiveness is begged, and its head struck off with a wooden sword, if possible at one stroke. The people are sometimes sprinkled with the blood.⁷

(iv.) The possession of the cock is decided by athletic competitions or by chance.⁸

Variants of these customs are found in all the south-

¹ Handelsmann, *Spiele*, p. 23; Hone, ii., 1401.

² Breton, *Belgique*, i., 241.

³ Brand, ii., 303. For other popular amusements possibly referable to a similar source, see Hone, i., 573, ii., 1401; Schütze, *Idiotikon*, iii., 7.

⁴ Raumer, *Gesch. der Hohenstaufen*, vi., 590.

⁵ Owen, *Old Stone Crosses*, p. 191; *Am Urquell*, i., 129; *M. C.*, iv., 135, x., 264. Greek coins often represent animals on men's shoulders (Frazer *Pausanias*, v., 87). Does this point to a similar custom?

⁶ *Mont. Coll.*, iii., 86; Schuster, *Deutsche Myth. aus sieben-sächs. Quellen*, p. 268.

⁷ Vernaleken, *Mythen u. Bräuche*, 303, 305; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-kal.*, p. 52; Coremans, 83, 103; Pfannenschmid, 299.

⁸ Pfannenschmid, p. 559; *Zeits. für die el Welt*, 1801, 445; Reimann, *Deutsche Volksfeste*, p. 13.

ern and western portions of Europe and in Spanish America.¹

Other animals sacrificed in the same way are—

Bear: Swabia (iii.).²

Frog: Bohemia³ in the ceremonies connected with the King of the May (iii.).

Goat: Jüterbock (ii.).⁴

Goose: Bavaria, Brittany, Saxony, Switzerland, Derbyshire.⁵

Pigeon: very frequently in the Middle Ages; later a wooden bird was shot at; this custom is still found in Schleswig-Holstein (i.) (ii.).⁶

Cat: Pomerania (combined with a hunt), Kelso, Shropshire, &c. (ii.);⁷ the cat was frequently shut up in a wooden bottle with a quantity of soot, and he who beat out the bottom and escaped the soot was the hero of the day.⁸

Owl: North Walsham.⁹

Deer: to this class belongs the running deer in the Schützenfest of Burg.¹⁰

¹ Cockfighting seems to be a variant of this custom; it was practised on Shrove Tuesday, the same day as the Hahnenschlag. I hope to deal elsewhere with the "Brauthahn," some forms of which include the "Hahnenschlag." The egg-games may also be mentioned here; v. Rolland, vi., 105; Henderson, p. 84; Sebillot, *Coutumes*, p. 251; *F. L. J.*, iv., 131, vi., 60; Nicholson, p. 12.

² De Gubernatis, p. 426.

³ Mannhardt, *Bk.*, p. 354.

⁴ *Kloster*, xii., 76.

⁵ *Kloster*, xii., 1005; Rolland, vi., 175; Meyrac, p. 95; Grabner, *Ver. Niederlande*, p. 360; for other refs. v. Jahn, *Opfergebräuche*, p. 234.

⁶ *Am Urquell*, i., 129; Jahn, p. 149; Handelsmann, p. 12.

⁷ Jahn, p. 107; Brand, ii., 303; Grabner, p. 361; Burne, p. 450; Handelsmann, p. 22.

⁸ Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, i., 2; *Kloster*, xii., 552. The insign of the "Cock and Bottle" is obviously an allusion to this, as is that of the "Dog and Duck" to a similar amusement. "Gare au pot au noir" is a phrase used in France in playing Blind Man's Buff.

⁹ De Gubernatis, p. 560. According to Hone this was only a practical joke. It will, however, appear later that the custom probably existed in Germany. At Lille ducks and rabbits were used (Desrousseaux, i., 289).

¹⁰ Handelsmann, p. 25. Did the Elaphebolia take its name from a similar practice?

Sheep : Elsass ; S. and C. Germany¹ (ii.) (iv.).

Stagbeetle : In Lautenthal the boys, when they found a stagbeetle in springtime, buried it and struck at it with eyes blindfolded. The winner was accompanied home by his companions.²

Glowworm : A similar custom seems to exist in Italy with regard to the glowworm, which is threatened with a beating just as the snail is in England, in the well-known rhyme.³

To these must be added the blackbird, sparrow, yellow-hammer, toad,⁴ and perhaps the herring⁵ and dog.⁶

(c) *The Simple Form.*

(i.) The first butterfly is killed in Cornwall "in order that they may conquer their enemies."⁷ Similar customs are found in France, Somerset, Devon, and North Hants ;⁸ the first snake in W. Sussex, the first wasp in parts of England, the first toad at Berne.⁹ In Schleswig-Holstein the first bee should be killed and put in the purse in order to have money all the year.¹⁰ With this may be compared the well-known cuckoo custom ; further, that of running, rolling on the ground, &c., on seeing the first swallow, wagtail, &c., in order to be free from disease.¹¹

¹ For refs. v. Jahn, p. 190.

² Kuhn, *Nordd. Geb.*, p. 377 ; cf. *N. & Q.*, 2nd Ser., ii., 83.

³ De Gubernatis, p. 504 ; *F. L. J.*, v., 193.

⁴ *F. L. J.*, ii., 120 ; Napier, p. 112 ; Rolland, iii., 49 ; *N. & Q.*, 3rd Ser., iv., 492.

⁵ Rolland, iii., 126.

⁶ Nicholson, p. 22. Bartsch, *Abergl. aus Mecklenburg*, ii., 139.

⁷ *F. L. J.*, v., 214.

⁸ Sébillot, *Coutumes*, p. 365 ; Rolland, iii., 315 ; Hone, *Table-book*, p. 339.

Miss Marriage informs me that in Essex the head of the first white butterfly is bitten off.

⁹ *F. L. R.*, i., 8 ; Rolland, iii., 54, 272. In Pomerania the head of the first cockchafer should be bitten off as a protection against fever. Jühling, p. 94.

¹⁰ MS. note.

¹¹ Grimm, No. 217, 348, 986 ; *Z. für d. Myth.*, ii., 95 ; *Leicester Folklore*, p. 39 ; *F. L. R.*, ii., 88 ; *F. L. J.*, v., 187 ; Strackerjan, i., 66 ; *Germania*, xix., 349 ; cf. Panzer, ii., 125, 203 ; Aristophanes, *Aves*, 498 ; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx., 25.

(*iii.*) In Linda (Saxony) a crow shot on March 1st and hung up in the cowhouse was believed to protect the animals against witchcraft. The glowworm taken on June 24th brings luck in Belgium.¹

(*β*) Elsewhere a period is fixed for the killing of the animal instead of a single day. In the Tirol the young raven must be taken in March for use in medicine.² The toad is killed in the Tirol in the weeks from July 15th to August 15th, and hung in the stable. In Lechrain it is first transfixed and then hung in the stable.³ In Mecklenburg the weasel killed between August 15th and September 8th is specially powerful in magic.⁴ In Oldenburg the magpie shot in March protects against flies.⁵ The March hare is specially powerful in magic.⁶ In other cases the animal has to be killed before a certain date. At Herda a crow or magpie shot before March is nailed in the stable.⁷ In Hungary snakes and marmots should be caught before St. George's Day (April 23rd) for use in magic.⁸

(*γ*) Elsewhere the custom takes the form of killing the animal at all seasons. It is important to notice that this custom exists in the Isle of Man side by side with the annual hunt.⁹ In Brandenburg and France the toad is transfixed and stuck on the dunghill.¹⁰ In Wicklow and Tipperary the weasel is hunted down.¹¹ In N.E. Scotland

¹ Dähnhardt, *Volkstümliches aus den K. Sachsen*, i., 79; Rolland, iii., 343. So too the ladybird (June 25th). Rolland, iii., 368. The hare (March 1st). Jühling, pp. 55, 56, 58.

² Heyl, p. 152.

³ Wuttke, p. 95; Leoprechting, p. 83.

⁴ Schiller, ii., 10.

⁵ Strackerjan, p. 67.

⁶ Jühling, p. 57.

⁷ Witzschel, ii., 196.

⁸ Jones and Kropf, *Folktales of the Magyars*, xlix., 1. Similarly the lizard, butterfly, bat, frog, hare, deer, hedgehog, toad, mole, magpie, weasel, wolf. Jones and Kropf, *loc. cit.*; Jühling, *passim*.

⁹ Denham Tracts, i., 203.

¹⁰ *Z. des V. für V.*, i., 182; Rolland, iii., 49.

¹¹ *F.*, iv., 361.

and Bohemia the yellowhammer is killed,¹ in Shropshire the bat,² in Pitsligo the small tortoiseshell,³ in Normandy the salamander,⁴ in Llanidloes and Northumberland coloured butterflies,⁵ in the Pays rouchi tits.⁶ There is, however, a possibility that this custom points to a belief that these animals are permanently hostile, a view which also seems to manifest itself in the belief that certain animals by their mere presence (not appearance) bring misfortune. Into this question, however, I cannot now enter.

(δ) In some cases an animal is killed annually without being subsequently used in magic. At Erfurt the magpie is killed on Good Friday,⁷ at Bingen the badger at the festival of St. Roschus.⁸ The robin at Le Charme at Candlemas.⁹ Snakes and toads at Ortenau.¹⁰

(d) *The Torture Form.*

It is possible that we should include the baiting of bulls, badgers, bears, cats, ducks, and other animals under the head of sacrifice.¹¹

At Venice in the Middle Ages the head of the bull had, as in the Hahnenschlag, to be struck off at one blow. Bull-baiting was practised in Ireland on St. Stephen's day, an important day for sacrifices, as we have already seen.¹²

(e) *The Precipice Form.*

An interesting form of sacrifice, recalling the eastern

¹ Gregor, 139; Grohmann, No. 518.

² Burne, p. 214.

³ *F. L. R.*, vii., 43.

⁴ Rolland, iii., 79.

⁵ *Mont. Coll.*, x., 260; *Denham Tracts*, ii., 325.

⁶ Rolland, ii., 305.

⁷ Witzschel, ii., 196.

⁸ Reimann, p. 437.

⁹ Rolland, ii., 264.

¹⁰ Meyer, p. 94.

¹¹ Schütze, ii., 141, &c.; cf. Jahn, p. 230; Körber, *Volksbelustigungen*, p. 15.

¹² Vulpus, *Curiositäten*, ii., 25; *F. L. J.*, vi., 54, 62.

parallels, and others cited by Robertson Smith, is that of throwing the animal down from a church tower or other edifice. The animals so killed were:—Cat: Ypern (Belgium), Attendorf (Mark).¹ Goat: among the Wends on July 25; at Liepa Kirmess.² The goat was also sacrificed by the Esthonians with singular ceremonies on St. Thomas's day at Allentaschen.³

(f) *The Fire Form.*

The cat, fox, snake, squirrel and others were burnt in the Easter or Midsummer fires.⁴ Mannhardt identifies these with the spirit of vegetation. The connection with these fires is, however, the only ground for this identification, and these same animals are killed at the same season in ceremonies quite unconnected with vegetation, as we have already seen. It is less probable that an integral part of a custom should be detached than that a ceremony practised at the same season should in some cases be incorporated.⁵

III. 1A.—PROCESSION.

Mannhardt also identifies animals carried in procession at Christmas and other seasons of the year with the corn or tree-spirit. But in many cases the grounds for this are very slight; and there is no ground for connecting the majorities of the animals led in procession with either form of the vegetation cult, but it is far more probable that a custom should acquire an agricultural tinge in some few cases than that it should in the majority of instances lose all traces of its original meaning. We may even go further and argue that the animal corn-spirit is in every case an

¹ Coremans, p. 53; *Z. für d. M.*, ii., 93.

² Sommer, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, p. 179; *Mitt. des Nordböhmer Excursions-Clubs*, xxiii., 108.

³ Possart, *Die russischen Ostseeprovinzen*, ii., 172.

⁴ Mannhardt, *passim*.

⁵ To put the matter in a concrete form, I find six cases in which the squirrel was hunted; in only one or two at most was it burnt in the Easter fire. I conclude that the squirrel hunt was originally independent of the fire, into which animals were thrown but seldom.

example of this "superposition." The casual theory defended by Dr. Frazer seems untenable.¹ The identification of the chance animal in the corn with the corn-spirit could hardly have led to the permanent recognition of *one animal* as such in a given district. Further we do not know that the chance animal ever was so recognised (as the chance stranger was); we cannot therefore argue, as Dr. Frazer does, that the two cases cannot be dissociated in any attempt at explanation; it is Dr. Frazer's own hypothesis that the cases are parallel, and he quotes no facts in support of it. On the other hand it is simple and satisfactory to see in animal corn-spirit the sacred animal of a district identified with the corn-spirit because it was sacred in the pre-agricultural days. This view is favoured by the fact that a large number of animals which are in some cases comparatively rare are regarded as embodying the corn-spirit; I shall have occasion to call attention in another connection to facts connected with the harvest supper which support this hypothesis.

Analogy suggests that the animals carried in procession² were originally sacrificed, and there are facts which tend to prove that the Christmas horses and other animals were actually at one period killed and eaten.

Before leaving the question of sacrifice I must direct your attention to the great importance of the period about the winter solstice for ceremonies of this nature. The importance of this point will be seen later.

III. 2.—COMMUNION WITH THE SACRED ANIMAL.

This was effected (a) by the *distribution of its feathers, skin, &c.*, (b) by *eating it*.

(b) i. Among the animals thus eaten are: cock,³

¹ *Golden Bough*, ii. 33.

² Bear, boar, cockchafer, cow, crow, cuckoo, donkey, eagle, fly, fox, goat, horse, magpie, ox, rabbit, sardine, stockfish, sheep, stork, swallow, and wolf. To these may be added the cricket, sold in Florence on Ascension Day. Animals that appear in the other lists are not mentioned again here.

³ V. the refs. on p. 252.

deer,¹ goat,² goose,³ hare,⁴ pig,⁵ ox,⁶ sheep,⁷ shellfish and mussels.⁸ By including the animals eaten at particular seasons, such as the carp at Christmastide in Schleswig-Holstein, the list might be considerably extended; the swan would naturally be included with others less important. At All Souls', Oxford, the mallard was eaten on January 14.⁹ It may also be noted that where it is forbidden to eat an animal or bird not commonly used for food, such as the woodpecker,¹⁰ there is a strong probability that it was formerly eaten ritually.

In this connection I may also call attention to the Painswick dog-pie.¹¹ It can, I think, hardly be doubted that the dog was originally eaten there. It is a *priori* highly probable that the feast-customs of our villages go back to an extremely early date. Moreover, we find other instances of the same sort. In a Cornish village blackbird-pie is eaten on Twelfth-day.¹² Stories are told in Lincolnshire and France¹³ of flies or cockchafers being eaten at the feast, and we may conjecture that there is a substratum of

¹ *F.*, viii., 312; cf. Lyncker, *Deutsche Sagen*, p. 229.

² *Mitt. des n.b. Ex-cl.*, loc. cit.

³ At Martinmas, v. Pfannenschmid, pp. 228, 504, &c.; at Michaelmas, Birlinger, ii., 163; Jahn, p. 233; cf. Owen, p. 351; *Arch. Camb.*, 1853, p. 325; Hone, i., 1645; *F. L. J.*, iv., 111.

⁴ Elton, *Origins of E. History*, p. 391 n.; *F.*, iii., 444.

⁵ *Am Urquell*, ii., 48; Pfannenschmid, p. 204; Meyer, p. 103; Jahn, pp. 103, 229, 265.

⁶ Jahn, p. 100; Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, p. 368; Schiller, ii., 5.

⁷ *Bavaria*, I., i., 372; *Z. des V. für V.*, v., 205, ff; Pfannenschmid, pp. 292, 559; *F.* ii., 21 ff.

⁸ *F. L. J.*, iv., 361; Courtney, *Cornish Feasts*, pp. 8, 21, 25. To the list of animals eaten we may perhaps add the wren, robin, and cat, which are roasted or boiled. *Byegones*, April 22nd, 1885; Rolland, ii., 264; Grohmann, n. 367. The name "Eselsfresser" applied to Silesians in Germany, points to a similar custom. Sinapius (*Oelnographia*, i., 342-3) tells us that Silesia was said to have so few vineyards because they ate the ass of Silenus!

⁹ Hone, *Table-book*, 44.

¹⁰ Kaindl, 104.

¹¹ *F.*, viii., 391.

¹² Courtney, p. 8; cf. Hone, *Table-book*, p. 667.

¹³ *F.*, viii., 365.

fact. At Towednack (Cornwall) the feast is termed "the cuckoo's feast," and this points to a similar usage.¹

This evidence of the ritual eating of animals not commonly used for food is in itself highly important; still more important, however, is the *local* character of the customs, of which we also find traces in the Oxfordshire deer-easts.

More important even than these local customs are the ceremonies in which the kin alone may take part. The Karelians, like the Esthonians of Oesel, kill a lamb on July 29th; it has never been shorn, and may not be killed with a knife; its blood is sprinkled over the threshold. *No stranger may eat of its flesh.*² The Easter lamb is killed in Greece by a male member of the family, roughly cooked on the street, and often torn to pieces without a knife. It is eaten by the family.³ The Lithuanians killed a cock and hen at their harvest festival without shedding their blood; they were prepared and *eaten in the absence of the servants.*⁴ In Lippe the harvest cock was eaten by the farmer, his family, and next of kin; *the servants and labourers had none of it.*⁵

I need hardly point out that these customs cannot be derived from the ordinary practices; the latter, on the other hand, may easily have originated in the ritual feasts of the kin.

(ii.) In certain cases we find cakes in animal form; these have clearly taken the place of the animals themselves. I will merely remark that the material of the cakes does not

¹ *F. L. J.*, v., 224. For other cuckoo-customs cf. Harou, p. 33; Reinsberg, Düringsfeld, ii., 115. Does the game of Hide and Seek point to a custom of hunting the cuckoo? Cf. Wander, ii., 1699.

² Mannhardt, *A. W. F.*, p. 160, n.

³ *F.*, i., 275; *Das Kloster*, vii., 915.

⁴ Mannhardt, quot. Praetoris, *Deliciae Prussicae*, v., 7, 23.

⁵ Pfannenschmid, iii., 422.

warrant us in connecting the practice with agricultural customs.¹

The customs dealt with in this division have been, so far as their distribution is a criterion, of the type I term "clan"; locality has, however, frequently replaced kinship. I now turn to evidence which seems to point to "tribal" sacrifice of the same archaic type.

GAMES OF SACRIFICE.

The primitive sacrifice dealt with in the last division has survived in more than one other form. Time will not permit me to deal with more than one of these, and that very briefly, merely indicating the conclusions to which I have come.

The most important example is the game of blind man's buff, which corresponds in form to the Hahnenschlag.

The game is known nearly all over Europe by names derived from animals, as the following list will show:

Blind cow: N. and C. Germany.

— mouse: Faroe Isles, part of Denmark, S. Germany
Illyria, Servia, Croatia.

— he-goat: part of Denmark, Pomerania, Finland,
Esthonia, England, Scandinavia.

— she-goat: Portugal.

— hen: Spain, Wales.

— cat: part of Italy, Bavaria.

— fly: part of Italy.

— owl: Altmark.

— wolf: Samland.²

¹ Animal cakes are found in the following forms: bear, boar, cock, cockchafer, deer, dog, goat, hare, horse, lark, pig, rat, sheep, snail, wolf. Clay donkeys were sold at Erfurt fair. The "Brauthahn" and Easter lamb are similarly made in butter (Fromm, pp. 108, 123; *Bavaria* ii., 2, 381).

² Handelsmann, pp. 33, 69-73, 109-111; Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *Blind*; *Archivio per la Trad.*, viii., 431; *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni pop.*, xiii., 193; Gomme, *Trad. Games*; *Kor. blatt. für n. d. Spr. forschung*, vii., 90; Zinde, *Słownik Języka Polskiego*; MS. notes. In the French name, Colin seems to be a form of Nicolas (Desrousseaux, *Moeurs*, i., 289).

In ancient Greece it was known as the brazen fly;¹ in Iceland as the fox-game;² in Lithuania hare-catching is a similar game.³

The explanation of these names is that the players originally wore masks; the game is known in some cases as the "blinde Mumm,"⁴ or blind mask. This is, perhaps, why in the Hahnenschlag the person who tries to kill the cock is frequently blindfolded; this custom points to a practice of wearing masks at the sacrifice. The player who is "it" seems to be the sacrificer; he bears the same name as the victim, just as in agricultural customs the reaper of the last corn bears the same name as the last sheaf.⁵

Blind man's buff is essentially a Christmas game; we have already seen that the sacrifices of the winter solstice are highly important; the distribution and wide popularity of blind man's buff bear further testimony to this. We may infer that the Christmas mummers originally officiated at a sacrifice at this season. We know from Strutt and other authorities that the mummers frequently wore animal masks. We may further conjecture that the animals paraded at this season of the year were not tree or corn-spirits appearing after their winter sleep was over; they were simply victims, like the wren and the squirrel. The custom of going dressed in skins of animals at this season, alluded to in the Penitentials of Theodore,⁶ is another form of the custom of wearing animal-masks. Klaus and other figures appearing at or near Christmas were possibly also connected with sacrifices: Klaus, unlike other personages who lead animals

¹ Pollux, *Onomastikon*, ix., 123, cf. 113.

² Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Dictionary*, s. v. Skolla.

³ *Globus*, lxxiii., 320.

⁴ Handelmann, p. 71; cf. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*.

⁵ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, *passim*. On the other hand, it may be that the whole body of sacrificers wore masks and bore the name of the animal; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv., 223; Davies, *Mythology of the British Druid*, p. 414.

⁶ Si quis in Kal. Januar. in cervulo vel vitula vadit, &c.

round and collect money, is the proverbial bringer of gifts; he also carries a rod, identified by Mannhardt as the "Lebensrute."¹

The two characteristics of Klaus noted above he shares with the "Hudler." In the Austrian custom known as "Hudlerlaufen" a man disguised in a mouse-mask pursued people with a whip; when he had caught them he treated them at the inn and then set out in search of others.² This custom I interpret as a survival of human sacrifice which had taken the place of a mouse-sacrifice. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that the "Hudler" wears a mouse-mask in a part of Europe where blind man's buff is known as "Blinde Maus."

We have seen that the "Hudler" gives food to those whom he catches; we find a corresponding feature in blind man's buff; in Germany, Sweden, and probably other parts of Europe reference is made in the game to eating meal and milk,³ obviously the sacred food which, as in the *Bouphonia* at Athens,⁴ the victim had to eat. To the whip or rod carried by Klaus and the Hudler corresponds the wand used in some forms of blind man's buff.⁵ It has another parallel in the whip carried by the priest in the Indian village rites described by Mr. Gomme in his *Ethnology in Folklore*. The object was, perhaps, to make the victim move or shiver, a result usually attained by pouring water on it.⁶

The eating of meal and milk is also alluded to in the

¹ *Baumkultus, passim*. Klaus=Nicholas, and the French name for Blind Man's Buff seems to mean "Blinded Nicholas," which seems to confirm the explanation I give of the Klaus customs. In Lithuania, mummers beat people on Dec. 24 (*Globus*, xxii., 239). Cf. Whipping Tom at Shrovetide (Hone, *Table-book*, 269).

² *Kloster*, vii., 799; cf. Mannhardt, *Bk.*, p. 268.

³ Handelsmann, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii., 38.

⁵ Handelsmann, p. 73, cf. p. 75; Pollux, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. *Globus*, xvii., 24, where we find striking as a means of transferring sins to a scapegoat.

game of "Bock,"¹ known in England as stag or cock-warning. This game is also a survival of a human sacrifice that has taken the place of animal sacrifice. The parallel custom is that known as the "Loup vert" in France.²

Blind man's buff is not necessarily a survival of human sacrifice; there are facts which suggest that the cock has in some parts taken the place of a human victim.³ This, if correct, explains the wide distribution of the Hahnen-schlag.

The Russian, Polish, and Bohemian names of blind man's buff refer to the "old woman;" in the Kidlington lamb hunt,⁴ the Westphalian "Vogelschiessen,"⁵ and other customs, participation is confined to women. (Possibly this only points to a separation of the sexes.) We learn from Pomponius Mela⁶ that female priestesses officiated.

The connection of witches with customs involving the wearing of masks is borne out by other evidence. In the Romance languages *masca* and words apparently connected with it have the following meanings: (a) mask, (b) to blacken the face, (c) witch, (d) helmet. We know that blackening the face was a religious custom; if not a substitute for the mask it was at any rate a parallel custom. The helmet again was frequently surmounted by an animal's head, horns,⁷ &c. We have therefore ground for supposing that the root of this series of words is the meaning mask. However this may be, it is clear that these meanings stand in some relation to each other, and that the resemblances are not due to mere chance. For in the old

¹ Handelsmann, *loc. cit.*

² Liebrecht, p. 209.

³ Ehrenloup, *Fries. Arch.*, ii., 6

⁴ *F.*, viii., 315.

⁵ De Gubernatis, p. 475 n.

⁶ *Lib.*, iii., c. 6.

⁷ For refs. v. *Arch. Rev.*, iii., 353.

Scandinavian word *gríma* and its derivatives we find exactly the same series.¹ I need hardly point out how improbable it is that this should be a mere coincidence.

These facts seem to throw some light not only on the female element in witchcraft, but also on the belief that witches can assume the form of animals.

I have mentioned that the facts with regard to blind man's buff point to a custom of tribal sacrifice. This is borne out by the coincidence of the dialectical boundary in Westphalia with the use of the name "Blinde Maus" for blind man's buff. This boundary also coincides with the southern limit of the horse's heads on the peasants' houses. Into the ethnological questions thus raised I cannot now enter.

I have brought to your notice this evening facts which, I believe, conclusively prove the existence of an animal cult in Europe. From the distribution of the customs and beliefs we may infer that they were originally connected with the clan or the local group. This view is borne out by facts which go to show that the sacrifice and ritual eating were the privilege of the kin alone. This conclusion will appear irresistible to those who accept the totemic interpretation of the Irish facts. I venture to think that the great mass of animal superstitions are best accounted for by the theory that they originated in a system of totemism differing in no essential respect from that which we find among the non-European races.

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NOTE.—May I appeal to those who are in a position to give me information, for localities in which the following animals are respected: badger, boar, eagle, glowworm, rabbit, sparrow, squirrel, wasp; also notes of all fish-taboos. I also wish to know whether the following animals are killed in any of the ways enumerated under sacrifice: cormorant, cross-bill, partridge, peewit, quail, redstart, seal, sea-swallow, wagtail, weevil.

I have prepared a list of questions which I am circulating all over Europe. I shall be pleased to receive notes of superstitions dealt with in the paper, and to send my questions to any one who will collect material.—N. W. T.

THE ANCIENT TEUTONIC PRIESTHOOD.

BY H. MUNRO CHADWICK, B.A.

(*Read at Meeting of May 16th, 1900.*)

I. THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

CÆSAR in his account of the Germans (*B. G.*, vi., 21) makes the statement that they had no Druids. This statement has given rise to much controversy; for it is not clear whether he meant to say that the Germans had no priests at all, or merely that they had no priesthood similar to that of the Gauls. In Tacitus' account of the Germans, a hundred and fifty years later, the priesthood constitutes an important element in their society, and is characterised by features which it is difficult to reconcile with the supposition that it was then a new institution. As a matter of fact, a German priest is said to have been present at the triumph of Germanicus (A.D. 14).¹

In order to comprehend Cæsar's meaning, it is necessary first to examine briefly his account of the Druids. According to his account (*B. G.* vi., 13 ff.), the Druids had the entire control of religion, and the direction of both public and private sacrifices. Their organisation extended over the whole of Gaul, and they were presided over by an Arch-druid, who was elected for life. They met annually in a consecrated place within the territories of the Carnutes, a district which was regarded as the centre of Gaul. All suits of whatever character, whether private or public, were here brought before them, and the decision was left entirely in their hands. They could enforce their sentences, whether against individuals or states, under penalty of excommunication, which was equivalent to outlawry. The Druids were, moreover, instructors of the young. They were excused from all tribute and military service, and devoted themselves

¹ Strabo vii., p. 292; as all the other persons mentioned in this passage are chiefs, the priest must have been regarded as a person of distinction.

to the study and exposition of natural and moral philosophy. They appear not to have been a distinct caste, since it is stated (*ib.* 14) that many were induced to embrace the profession by the desire to escape national obligations. They were sometimes—whether usually or not is uncertain—drawn from the ranks of the nobility. Thus Deiuiciacus the Aeduan was a Druid,¹ while his brother, Dumnorix, held the chief magistracy of the Aedui.

Some additional information is to be obtained from Strabo and Diodorus. According to Strabo (iv., p. 197), "there are three classes of persons who are especially honoured by the Gauls, namely, Bards, Vates, and Druids. The Bards are minstrels and poets, the Vates are sacrificers and interpreters of natural phenomena (*φυσιολόγοι*), while the Druids practice both *φυσιολογία* and moral philosophy. They are considered to be most just, and for this reason they are entrusted with the decision of all cases, both private and public. Formerly they even settled wars, and parted those who were on the point of fighting. Above all they were entrusted with the settlement of suits for manslaughter."

Diodorus (v., 31) gives much the same account. He states that the Vates, whom he calls *μάντιες* (seers), foretell the future by augury and by divination at sacrifices, and have the whole people in subjection to them. He calls the Druids *φιλοσόφοι*, and says that they also were present at all sacrifices, "for they think that offerings can be made to the gods, and favours asked from them, only through the mediation of those who are acquainted with their nature and, as it were, understood their language." According to Diodorus therefore both the Druids and the Vates were present at sacrifices.

Concerning the sanctuaries of the Druids we have very little information. According to Lucan (i., 453 f.) and Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 30), they inhabited, or, at all events,

¹ Cicero, *de Divin.* i., 41, 90.

practised their rites, in sacred groves.¹ This agrees with the well-known fact that reverence for trees was a leading feature in their worship.

From these notices it appears that the Vates and the Druids were distinct classes of persons, though it is not very easy to distinguish between them. Both seem to have taken part in sacrifices. Prophetic power also seems to have been claimed by the Druid as well as by the Vates. Thus, according to Cicero (*l.c.*), Deiuiciacus claimed to have the power of foretelling the future, partly by auguries and partly by conjecture. It is, of course, possible that the two classes are confused to some extent by our authorities through ignorance. It seems probable, however, that the administration of justice belonged exclusively to the Druids. The female Druids, mentioned in later works,² seem to be simply women possessed of prophetic powers.

For information regarding the priestly system of the ancient Germans we are dependent almost entirely upon Tacitus. His account of their duties may briefly be summarised as follows:—(1) They had to take omens on public occasions; this included the casting of lots and the observation of the sacred horses. In the latter duty the priest was accompanied by the king or the *princeps ciuitatis*.³ (2) They had duties in connection with the meeting of the tribal assembly. They had to open the meeting by proclaiming silence, and to them alone belonged the right of inflicting punishment both at the assembly and when the host was called out for war.⁴ It seems likely also that the right of proclaiming excommunication against persons guilty of cowardice belonged to them.⁵ (3) They had the guardianship of the sacred groves and of the symbols and other holy objects which were kept there.⁶ When the host

¹ Cf. also Mela, iii., 2, 19.

² Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, p. 1329 f.

³ *Germ.*, 10.

⁴ *Ib.*, 7, 11.

⁵ Cf. *Germ.*, 6.

⁶ *Ib.*, 40, 43.

assembled for war, the priests took the sacred symbols from their sanctuaries and carried them into battle.¹ Lastly, there can be little doubt that they had duties in connection with public sacrifices, though this is not explicitly stated by Tacitus.

The information to be derived from other early authorities is slight, but does not conflict with Tacitus' account. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii., 5, 14) states that over the priests of the Burgundians there presided a chief priest, called *Sinistus*,² who held office for life, and was irremovable. Jordanes (c. 5) says that the priests of the Goths were drawn from the nobility. According to Bede, *H. E.*, ii., 13) the priests of the ancient English were forbidden to carry arms or to ride, except on mares. Here also we find the priests of Deira presided over by a high priest.

It cannot be denied that there is a certain resemblance between the position of the German priests and that of the Druids. In both cases we find some kind of regular priestly organisation, under the presidency of a chief priest (Tacitus' *sacerdos ciuitatis*), though among the Germans the organisation seems to be confined within the limits of the 'state' or tribe. Among the Germans, as among the Gauls, the priests seem to have been exempt from the duty of fighting, though they were present on the field of battle. Like the Druids, the German priests inhabit, or at all events have charge over, sacred groves. Lastly, in addition to their distinctively religious functions, both the Druids and the German priests have duties in connection with the administration of justice. Tacitus' information is here corroborated by the evidence of language. In Old High German the word *ēwarto*,³ which literally means

¹ *Ib.*, 7.

² Identical with Goth. *sinista*, 'eldest.'

³ The word is to be compared with O. Fris. *āsega*, 'lawman' (*lit.* 'speaker of the law'), which is identical with O. Sax. *ēosago*, used in *Heliland* to denote a (Jewish) scribe.

'guardian of the law,' is used to denote a priest of the Jews. This usage can hardly be explained, except on the supposition that the word was formerly used to denote a native priest of the Germans. It is likely therefore that it was in their capacity of guardians of the law that the priests opened the assembly and had the right of inflicting punishment.

There are, however, two important points of difference between the Druids and the priests of the Germans: (1) In the administration of justice, the latter have rather the semblance of power than the reality. While among the Gauls the whole administration of justice lay exclusively in the hands of the Druids, among the Germans on the other hand this power belonged to the assembled host, the priests being apparently merely the officers of the latter. (2) The German priesthood seems to be exclusively concerned with public duties and to be almost entirely bound up with the 'state,' or tribe. Priests appear not to have been required for private worship. Tacitus (*Germ.*, 10) distinctly states that the casting of lots, which on public occasions devolved on the state-priest, in the private household was performed by the head of the house. It is probable that such was the case also with private sacrifices, though from Tacitus' silence on the subject, and Cæsar's statement¹ that the Germans were not zealous in offering sacrifice, it is likely that such sacrifices were not of frequent occurrence. Again the priestly organisation of the Germans seems not to extend beyond the bounds of each individual state. We hear indeed of religious festivals held in common by confederations of tribes, which were supposed to be connected by blood-relationship;² but we have no evidence for believing in any priestly organisation which embraced the whole German people. The priest-

¹ *B. G.*, vi., 21, *neque sacrificiis student.*

² *Germ.*, 39, 40.

hood indeed seems to be an essentially tribal institution. Its public duties are primarily connected with the meeting of the tribal assembly. The sacred groves over which the priests preside appear in all cases to be tribal sanctuaries. Indeed, judging from such passages as *Germ.*, 39, *Ann.* ii., 12, *Hist.* iv., 14, it seems exceedingly probable that it was in these sacred groves that the tribal meetings, whether ordinary or called on emergency, were held.

With the Gaulish Vates the priests of the ancient Germans seem to have had little or nothing in common. There is no evidence that they laid claim to any gift of inspiration or prophecy. In this respect they seem to have differed even from the Druids; for the latter combined divine inspiration with official position. We may contrast Diodorus' statement (v., 31) that the presence of Druids was required at sacrifices owing to their acquaintance with the nature of the gods, and Tacitus' account (*Germ.*, 10) of the observation of the sacred horses, where it is remarked that the priest and king regarded themselves as the servants of the gods but the horses as their confidants.¹ So far as I am aware, the only passage, on the strength of which any supernatural knowledge could be claimed for the priests of the ancient Germans, is *Germ.*, 40, where it is stated that the priest of Nerthus becomes aware that the goddess is in her temple; but even here the inference is not certain, and at most the inspiration claimed is but slight.²

Prophecy and divination were, of course, by no means

¹ *Se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant.*

² No supernatural power can be claimed for the priests on the ground of *Germ.*, 7: *Neque animadvertere neque vincire ne uerberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed uelut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt.* This only shows that the priests were regarded as the servants or representatives of the gods, and harmonises well with their position as guardians of the law; for the latter was, no doubt, believed to be of divine origin. The ancient kings of the North seem to have been regarded in a similar light (*cf.* p. 285).

unknown among the ancient Germans. Yet whenever we find reference to such matters in early authorities, it is always by women that we find them practised. Tacitus (*Germ.*, 8) makes mention of Veleda and other celebrated prophetesses, and states that the Germans believed their women generally to possess a certain inherent prophetic power. Cæsar (*B. G.*, i., 50) says that the matrons in Ariouistus' host prophesied defeat to their own side if they fought before the new moon. Strabo (vii., p. 294) says that in the camp of the Cimbri there were grey-haired prophetesses, who sacrificed prisoners, and practised divination from the flowing of their blood and the contortions of their bodies.¹ In the Langobardic saga, Gambara, the mother of the chiefs Ibor and Aio, seems to have been regarded as a prophetess.² It is noteworthy that in the North also, in later times, it is usually women who are endowed with prophetic powers (*cf.* p. 298), though men also are occasionally mentioned. But the terms 'priest' or 'priestess' are never applied to such persons. There is no reason for supposing that among the ancient Germans also the two classes were not kept distinct. They have no feature in common except the offering of sacrifice. This however, could probably—in later times certainly—be performed by any person without reference to priestly office or prophetic powers.

So far, therefore, as the records give us any guidance, it appears that the priest of the ancient Germans was a tribal official, who had to perform public ceremonies and preserve the traditional tribal law. They do not give us any ground for supposing that the priest laid claim to secret knowledge through divine inspiration.

¹ This passage is to be compared with Diodorus' account of the sacrificial duties of the Gallic Vates. The two rites are indeed exactly analogous. But I do not think it has yet been proved beyond doubt that the Cimbri were a Germanic tribe.

² *Historia Langobardorum*, Cod. Goth., i. ; *cf.* Paulus, *Hist. Lang.*, i., 3. Further examples are given by Golther, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 621 f.

It may, however, be urged that it is unsafe to form such a conclusion as this on what is mainly negative evidence. The apparent absence of prophetic claims on the part of the priest may be due to the poverty of our information. It must be seen, therefore, whether the view here put forward is in harmony with the evidence of later times. Direct evidence on this point is only to be obtained in the North, for elsewhere the native literature does not begin until all reminiscences of heathen society have vanished. The Northern evidence will be discussed in the next section. In the meantime, however, there is some indirect evidence which tends to confirm this view. In the subdivisions of the tribe the temporal leader seems to have held a semi-priestly position. Among many tribes, especially the Franks, the chief sub-division was the hundred. This body formed a unit for military purposes, and had, like the tribe itself, its own meetings for the administration of justice. Each hundred had a leader of its own, who, in Frankish annals, is called *centenarius* or *tribunus*, and in the native language *hunno* or *cotinc*.¹ Now this last word, *cotinc*, i.e. *goding*, is a derivative of *god*, and can hardly have meant anything else than 'priest.' How such a name could come into use may be seen from the history of the Icelandic *goði*; the local leader must in heathen times have had priestly functions. Again the 'princeps,' in his judicial capacity, seems to bear a semi-priestly character. We have seen that the guardianship of the tribal law was one of the chief cares of the priests. But the exposition and interpretation of the law in district and village assemblies was the business of the princeps. This custom survives in the ancient laws of the English, where it is laid down that the exposition of the secular law in the shire-moot is the duty of the *aldorman*.² It is for ignorance of

¹ Cf. Schröder, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*,³ p. 31, n. 18.

² Edgar, iii., § 5; cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i., p. 134.

law that the aldormen are rebuked by Alfred.¹ Again it seems likely that in the village community the head man performed priestly functions. Such was certainly the case in the North, and there is evidence, at all events, that the villages of the continent had similar religious festivals.² In none of these bodies do we ever hear of persons of exclusively priestly character. Priestly duties appear everywhere to have been discharged by the temporal chief. The former prevalence of the patriarchal system is shown, further, by the use of the Old English poetical word, *aldor*,³ 'chief,' 'prince,' which in the plural means 'forefathers.' In the sense of 'princeps' it has died out in prose, being displaced by the extended form *aldorman*; in official terminology, however, it remains in the forms *hundredes ealdor*, 'chief of a hundred,' *burhealdor*, 'mayor,' &c.

In the smaller organisations of society then, priestly duties seem to have been performed by the temporal chief. It is only the great organisation, the tribe or state, which possesses a class with exclusively priestly functions. This fact is rendered especially important by the loose character of the bonds by which the ancient German state was held together. Cæsar says distinctly (*B.G.*, vi., 23) that in time of peace the state had no common magistracy, and, so far as the non-monarchical tribes are concerned, his words are amply confirmed by the evidence of Tacitus.⁴ Each

¹ Camden's *Asser*, p. 21.

² The contributions paid by the villagers towards the maintenance of common festivals may very well have passed into the *cyriesceat* of the Christian period. At all events the wording of Ine's law on the subject deserves attention. The *cyriesceat* was to be paid at Martinmas at the place "where the man has his hearth at mid-winter" (Ine, § 61; *cf.* § 4).

³ The word seems to be closely related to *aldor*, 'life,' and is, perhaps, identical with Lat. *altor*, 'foster-father.'

⁴ Once, indeed, in a passage quoted above (*Germ.*, 10), Tacitus uses the expression *princeps ciuitatis*. Yet from other passages it is clear that this can not denote any definite supremacy over the whole tribe (*cf.* Schröder, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*,³ p. 29, n. 11.). It seems not unlikely that the chief, who accompanied the priest in the observation of the sacred horses, held the position of 'princeps ciuitatis' for this duty only. Possibly the duty may have been undertaken by the various principes in turn.

district seems to have been governed by its own chief. Traditionally, no doubt, the bond of union in the tribe was held to be community of blood. But the tangible evidences of unity seem to be only four in number, namely the law, the assembly, the sanctuary, and the priesthood, all of which are closely connected. The priests seem to be the only permanent central authority in the tribe.

II. THE PRIESTHOOD IN THE NORTH.

In the North there is practically no evidence for the existence of a priestly class.¹ The word *goði*, 'priest,' occurs frequently, but it is always, or almost always, used to denote a person who combined priestly duties with temporal power. The very rare exceptions, real or apparent, to this rule will be discussed in the following pages. It will be convenient to treat the four countries, Iceland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden, separately, owing to the very different social and political conditions which they present.

1. For Iceland our information is extensive and trustworthy. In the early days of the colony, the more important settlers built temples of their own, often from the material of the temples which they had had in Norway. They exercised a kind of patriarchal authority over their followers, but bore no title of authority other than that of *goði*, their office and sphere of jurisdiction being called *goðorð*. The smaller settlers, who had no temples of their own, gradually joined themselves to them, in order to enjoy both the use of their temples and the benefit of their protection. The *goði* had to keep up the temple and provide the sacrifices, in return for which the members of the *goðorð* paid a temple-tax (*hof-tollr*). In the neighbourhood of each temple there was a consecrated place set apart for the *thing* or assembly of the members of the *goðorð*. At first

¹ On this question the first chapter of H. Petersen's important paper *Om Nordboernes gudedyrkelse og gudetro i Phœdenold* deserves attention.

each community was practically independent, but in the year 930 a constitution was adopted which embraced the whole island, a general assembly (*alþingi*) being held annually at the Öxará. About 965 further changes were introduced. The country was divided into four quarters, each quarter containing three *thing*, except the northern quarter, which contained four. Each *thing* contained three *goðord*. The number of *goðord* was thus limited to thirty-nine, and no temples erected after this date conveyed any magisterial rights. Every freeman had to belong to some *goðord*, but the delimitation of the *goðord* was not strictly geographical, and persons were free to change from one to another. The *lögretta*, or legislative council, was composed of the thirty-nine *goðar*, to whom nine titular *goðar*, chosen from the east, south, and west quarters, were subsequently added, and ninety-six assessors, two of whom were nominated by each *goði*. The whole was presided over by the *lögsögumaðr*, 'speaker of the law,' an elected official. The right of opening the assembly, however, belonged to the *goði* who possessed the temple of Kialarnes, within whose jurisdiction the meeting-place of the *alþingi* lay. He is consequently called *allsheriar goði*, lit. 'priest of the whole host.' This constitution lasted with unessential modifications down to the end of the commonwealth. It is to be observed that the *goðord* was inherited, like any other piece of property, and could even be sold. On the introduction of Christianity the priestly functions of the *goði* of course disappeared, but the political powers, and curiously even the name, survived.

2. In regard to Norway the accounts are much less complete and satisfactory. Before the time of Haraldr Hárfagri the small chiefs on the west coast seem to have been practically independent. According to the legendary sagas, kingdoms arose from time to time, but for the most part they seem to have been short-lived, and in many districts the local community owed no external obedience. Since it

was mainly from the Norwegian coast communities that the colonists of Iceland were drawn, it must be inferred that the organisation, both political and religious, of these communities was similar to, and indeed formed the model of, the system which we find in Iceland. It may be assumed, therefore, that each local chief had a temple and thing-place for his dependents, and that he himself discharged priestly duties. As a matter of fact, we find in several cases that the materials used for constructing the new temples in Iceland had been taken from the temples which the same persons had formerly possessed in Norway. Whether the Norwegian patriarchal chiefs usually bore the title *goði* is uncertain; instances, however, occasionally occur.¹ Further inland a similar system is found, but on a larger scale. Over the district called 'the Dales' there ruled in St. Olaf's days a *hersir*² named Guðbrandr, who "was as it were a king" over the district.³ This man possessed a temple containing a figure of Thor. When St. Olaf came into the Dales to enforce the acceptance of Christianity, Guðbrandr called the men of the district together, and taking the image out of the temple, they set out to meet the king.⁴ The predecessor of this Guðbrandr was in alliance with Earl Hakon of Hladir. They had a temple in common, which contained figures of Thor and of Hakon's patron goddesses, Thorgerðr and Irpa.⁵ In the *Saga of King Hakon the Good* (c. 16) Earl Sigurðr of Hladir (Earl Hakon's father) is said to have provided a great sacrificial feast at Hladir, and to have borne the whole expense. In this passage it is stated that it was the duty of the chief who provided the feast to consecrate the ale and all the

¹ Cf. *Landn.* iv., 6: "Thorhaddr the Old was temple-priest at Mæren in Thronðhjem."

² The word denotes an independent chief; see Vigfússon, *Icel. Dict.*, s.v.

³ *Olafs s. Helga (Heimskr.)*, 118 f.

⁴ This is to be compared with the similar custom of the ancient Germans (*Germ.*, 7).

⁵ *Njáls s.* 88.

sacrificial meat. The following chapters describe the refusal of the Christian king, Hakon, to take his part in these public feasts, and the dangerous position in which he consequently found himself involved. The Norwegian evidence therefore is consistent; from the king or earl down to the village chieftain, priestly duties are everywhere combined with temporal power. We never hear of any person of exclusively priestly character during the whole history of the country. In the case where communities combine for public worship we find the chiefs undertaking the office of priest in turn. Such was the case with the sacrifices at Maeren in St. Olaf's time. They were held by twelve chiefs in turn.¹ It is to be observed that this was during the reign of a Christian king, and at a time when none of the great heathen chiefs were left in the land. Yet it is quite possible that it was merely the revival of an old custom, which may have been in existence before the rise of the monarchy.

3. For Denmark our materials on this subject are almost wholly wanting. It would hardly have been necessary to deal with this country, had not certain writers² brought forward three Runic inscriptions, found in Fyn, as evidence for the existence of a specifically priestly class. The first inscription is that of Helnæs: *rhuulfR sati stain nuRakupi aft Kupumut*, &c., i.e., 'Hróulfr Noragoði erected the stone to the memory of Goðumundr,' &c. The second is that of Flemlöse: *aft ruulf statR stain sasi is uas nuRakupi*, &c., i.e. "this stone stands in memory of Hróulfr, who was Noragoði," &c. These inscriptions evidently refer to the same person and are assigned by Wimmer to the beginning of the ninth century. The third inscription is that of Glavendrup, and dates from about 900, according to Wimmer: *rakhilfr sati stain þansi auft ala saulua-kupa uia haipuiarþan þiakn*, &c, i.e. "Ragnhildr erected

¹ *Olafs s. Helga* (*Heimskr.*), 115; cf. K. Maurer, *Bekehrung*, ii., p. 214; v. P.S.

² Especially K. Maurer, *ZfdPh.*, iv., 128 f.

this stone to the memory of Ali Sölvagodi, the noble temple-priest,"¹ &c. The point in dispute is the meaning to be attached to the phrases *Nora-godi*, *Sölva-godi*. Maurer translates, "Nori's priest," &c., *i.e.* a priest in the service of Nori, and takes the latter to be the name of a man. This explanation is, however, unnecessary. Wimmer translates 'priest of (*i.e.*, at) Norar (or Norir),' a place-name of plural form (or possibly the name of the inhabitants of a district); *Sölva* he takes to be the genitive of *Sölvi*, a place-name identical with that of Sölvi, in Norway (or possibly, like *Nora*, a genitive plural, denoting the inhabitants of a place).² If Wimmer's explanation be adopted, Hrólfr and Ali may obviously have been local chieftains, like those on the west coast of Norway. Maurer's hypothesis therefore rests on insecure foundations. Had a priestly class existed, it is curious that we should find no reference to it in Saxo, who frequently refers to laws of the heathen period.³

4. There is one distinct reference to the existence of priestly officials at the Upsala sanctuary, namely in Adam of Bremen, iv., 27: "Assigned to all their gods they have priests to present the sacrifices of the people." But were these officials persons of exclusively priestly character, or were they local chiefs entrusted with the performance of priestly duties, like the Norwegian chieftains at Maeren?

In contrast to Norway—the land of small independent communities—Sweden is distinguished from the earliest times by centralisation of government. At the beginning of the eleventh century we find the country (exclusive of Skånö) divided into seven provinces, each possessing an

¹ Lit. 'The honour-worthy man of the temple.' Wimmer takes *uia biakn* to be equivalent to *hof-godi*.

² Wimmer, *Runenschrift*,² pp. 341 ff., 359 ff.

³ The occurrence of the name *Lyuth-guthi* (viii., p. 381), even if correct, can obviously prove nothing.

assembly and a lawman (*lögmaðr*).¹ These lawmen seem, at this period, to have been men of high position.² The succession, at all events in Uppland, was hereditary.³ Besides the lawman there existed in Uppland a council of twelve sages (*spekingar*), whose duty it was to advise the king, especially in the administration of justice, and who likewise appear to have been men of important position.⁴ At their head stood, during the reign of Olafr Skötkonungr, three brothers, Arnviðr, Thorviðr, and Freyviðr, the two latter being named after the great gods. Similar councils can be shown to have existed in other Scandinavian lands, *e.g.* in the Danish settlements in England. Thus Lincoln and Stamford had each a council of twelve, who inherited their jurisdiction and bore the title of lawmen (Lat. *lagemanni*).⁵ Bearing in mind the close connection which everywhere among Teutonic peoples subsists between the law and the priesthood, it seems not unlikely that these councillors are the priests mentioned by Adam. During the reign of the Christian king, Olafr, their sacerdotal duties would necessarily have to cease; but they may subsequently have been resumed during the heathen reaction which was in operation during Adam's time.

As regards the number, we may compare the twelve priests who officiated in the sacrifices at Maeren. The identification is still more favoured by the story of the twelve gods who were appointed by Othin as temple-priests (*hof-godar*), to keep up the sacrifices and

¹ *Olafs s. Helga (Heimskr.)*, 76. At an earlier period these provinces seem to have been separate kingdoms, most of which, however, were always dependent on the king in Uppland; *cf. Yngl. s.* 40, 42.

² Of the Lawman of W. Götland it is stated that he was the richest and most powerful man in the land except the earl; *Olafs. s. Helga (Heimskr.)*, 96.

³ In St. Olaf's time the lawman was Thorgnyr, the son of Thorgnyr, the son of Thorgnyr; his father and grandfather had been lawmen before him, and so had their ancestors for many generations (*ib.* 77).

⁴ *Olafs s. Helga*, 96 (*Heimskr.*, p. 316 f.).

⁵ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i., p. 106, and n. 4.

administer justice among men.¹ It has indeed been suggested that the conception of the twelve gods is a purely literary one and due to classical influence; but the conjecture is needless. A perfectly adequate explanation is provided in the existence of judicial councils of twelve, like that at Upsala. They probably date from very early times, and, indeed, are not peculiar to the North. Analogies are to be found in England, in cases where Danish influence is hardly probable.² A more important parallel is supplied by the Frisian saga of the twelve *āsegen* ('speakers of the law'), who could not declare to Karl the Great the nature of Frisian law.³ Bodies of twelve delegates are found also among the Old Saxons and in Holstein.⁴

But though the priests mentioned by Adam may be identical with the councillors, the position of high-priest seems to have belonged properly to the king. In *Ynglingatal*, the mythical king Alfr is called *vörðr véstalls*, 'guardian of the altar.'⁵ The god Frö, the traditional founder of the ancient royal family, is in *Ynglinga Saga* distinctly represented as a priest-king. Both here and in Saxo (iii., p. 120) he is said to have instituted the sacrifices at Upsala. In another passage of Saxo (i., p. 49 f.), the origin of the sacrifices is attributed to a King Hadingus, who seems to be identical with Niörðr, Frö's father. The sacrifices are, however, said to be offered to Frö. Again, according *Yngl. s.*, 47, a famine which arose in the days of the legendary king Olafr Tretelgia was attributed by the people to the king's remissness in offering sacrifice. The result was that the king himself was sacrificed. There is

¹ *Yngl. s.* 2; cf. *Hyndlulíod* 28, *Gylf.* 14, *Gautreks.* s. 7, &c. It is to be observed that, according to *Ynglinga Saga*, Othin was supposed to have reigned in Sweden.

² Stubbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 121.

³ V. Richthofen, *Fries. Rechtsquellen*, pp. 439 ff.

⁴ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 65.

⁵ *Yngl. s.* 24; cf. the expression *vls valdr*, 'ruler of the sanctuary,' applied by Kormakr to Sigurdr, Earl of Hladir (*Hakonar s. Góða*, 16).

evidence even from historical times. In Rembertus' *Vita Ansharii* (c. 23 f.), the Swedish king seems to perform sacerdotal functions. Together with his nobles he casts lots before the meeting of the assembly, thus discharging the duty which is assigned by Tacitus to the 'state-priest.' Even in the latter part of the eleventh century we find a king Sveinn, who was known as Blótsveinn (*i.e.* 'Sacrifice-Sveinn.') He is said to have obtained the throne, on the expulsion of the Christian king, Ingi Steinkelsson, by promising to offer sacrifice on behalf of the people.¹

In the North therefore priestly duties seem everywhere to be combined with temporal power. The temporal chief is both judge and sacrificial priest.² It has been suggested that this absence of a priesthood in the North is a late development, and due to encroachment on the part of the temporal powers; but the evidence points distinctly the other way. In the first place, the gods are represented as priest-kings. The case of the god Frö has already been mentioned. The god Ullr seems to bear a similar character. Saxo (iii., p. 130), after relating the story of Othin's exile, says that the gods elected a certain Ollerus (*i.e.* Ullr) not only to the kingdom, but even to the honours of divinity. Immediately afterwards he speaks of him as a *flamen*. There seems also to be some reason for believing that Balder was once regarded as a priest-king. Secondly, priesthood and chieftainship have the same emblem, namely the sacred arm-ring. In Icelandic temples this was kept lying upon the altar, but at all public meetings the godi wore it on his arm, and upon it all oaths were sworn.³ In Symeon's *History of the Church of Durham* (ii., 13), a

¹ *Hervarar s. ad fin.* (*F. A. S.*, i., p. 512).

² In *Vols. s. 1* the mythical king Skadi pronounces excommunication upon Sigi. Skadi is perhaps identical (in origin) with the goddess Skadi, the eponymous deity of Skåenö.

³ *Eyrbyggja s. 4*; *Kjalnesinga s. 2*, &c. In the Saxon Chronicle also (*Ann.* 876) the ring-oath is represented as the most binding form of engagement known to the Danes.

Northern king, Guthred, assumes an arm-ring as a kind of coronation ceremony. This is to be compared with an incident in the story of the Danish king Hrólfr Kraki, as related in the prose Edda, namely his attempt to acquire from the Swedish king Adils the ring Svíagríss, which had belonged to Adils' forefathers.¹ It is to be observed that the gods Ullr, Balder, and Frö are represented as possessing sacred arm-rings. Moreover, several facts show that Northern chiefs bore a more or less sacred character. In the prehistoric age they were, according to the legends, liable to be sacrificed in times of misfortune. Such was the fate of the Swedish kings Domaldi and Olafr Tretelgia.² They were believed to be responsible for the famines which occurred during their reigns. This can hardly be explained, except on the supposition that the king was regarded as the representative of the god. The occurrence of the famine showed that the god was not satisfied with his representative. Again, popular chiefs were sometimes worshipped after death. Such is said to have been the case with the legendary king Olafr Geirstada-álfr,³ and even with a small chief named Grímr, grandfather of one of the settlers of Iceland. Rembertus (*Vita Anscharii*, c. 23) describes the formal deification of a Swedish king Ericus. Lastly the dwelling-places of Northern kings seem, like sanctuaries, to have been regarded as possessing a sacred peace. The term 'field of peace' is found applied to the Swedish king's dwelling as early as Beowulf (l. 2960).⁴

III. THE NORTHERN PRIESTLY SYSTEM COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

In the preceding sections I have endeavoured to show

¹ *Skaldsk*, 51.

² *Yngl. s.* 18, 47. The story of the South Norwegian king Vikar (*Gautr. s.* 7) may also be compared.

³ *Olafs. s. Helga* (Flat), 6.

⁴ The most extreme case of sanctity is that of Ibn Fadhlán's Volga Russians (*Jakut, Russ.*). Here the king was so holy that he was not allowed to walk.

(1) that the priest of the ancient Germans was not a person endowed with secret knowledge but a tribal official; (2) that in the North priestly duties were always combined with temporal power. It remains for us to inquire which of the two systems is the older.

It cannot, of course, be denied that the evidence for the continental system dates from a period long anterior to any record of that which obtained in the North. Yet in the North we can find no trace of any system other than that which existed in historical times, and all the evidence points to its antiquity. But can the continental system be a later development of one corresponding to that which we see in the North? There are several reasons for at least taking this suggestion into account:—

(i.) The priesthood seems to be an essentially tribal institution. In the private household, and even in the subdivisions of the tribe, priestly duties are, as in the North, performed by the temporal head. This seems to show that the origin of the priesthood is bound up with the tribe as a whole.

(ii.) In spite of the existence of a priesthood, royalty, where it is found, appears to have a sacred character. Among the Burgundians in the fourth century it was customary to depose the king in time of famine or military disaster.¹ It has been shown above that the Swedes under similar circumstances sacrificed their kings. The two customs are clearly of similar origin. Again, that the Meroving kings were sacred is shown by the fact that, like the gods, they were carried to the assembly in a cart drawn by oxen.² During the last century of their existence they had practically ceased to have any share in the government, and nothing but the sanctity attached to

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii., 5, 14.

² Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, c. 1; cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* 40; *Olafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat), 278.

royalty could have preserved the dynasty so long from extinction.¹

(iii.) The position of the tribal high-priest is somewhat analogous to that of the state-priests of other European nations (*e.g.*, the Rex Sacrificulus of the Romans or the Archon Basileus of the Athenians). These latter offices were relics of former monarchy, stripped of all temporal powers. Is not the same explanation possible also here?

Can the priesthood of the ancient Germans be due to the former existence of monarchy? In Tacitus' time most of the tribes with which the Romans came in contact were not monarchical; but this need not always have been the case.² A nation may come into existence either through the confederation of small communities (as in Iceland) or through their union under one head. That the ancient German tribes arose by the latter process is made probable by the fact that many of them occupied territory which had been gained by conquest; for in a state of civilisation no further advanced than that of the ancient Germans, offensive warfare can hardly be carried on successfully except under a permanent head. Again the genealogies, which traced the tribesmen, primarily no doubt the noble families, back to a common ancestor, point to the former existence of monarchy, or at all events of patriarchal government on a large scale. Moreover, it is to be observed

¹ It is perhaps worth observing that in Alcuin's *Vita Willebrordi* (c. 10) the Frisian king (like the Swedish king in the *Vita Anscharii*) is represented as casting lots on what appears to have been regarded as a public occasion.

² It seems probable that the Cherusci were formerly under monarchical government. Tacitus (*Ann.*, xi., 16) uses the expression *stirps regia*, when speaking of Arminius' family. Arminius endeavoured to make himself king (*Ann.*, ii., 88), and Italicus was invited to the throne. Moreover, though eight chiefs of this tribe are mentioned by name, all of them belonged to one or other of two houses—on the one side Arminius, his brother Flavus, his father's brother Inguiomerus, and Flavus' son Italicus; on the other Segestes, his son Segimundus, his brother Segimerus, and Segimerus' son Segithancus. We may compare the case of Gaul. In Cæsar's time the Gallic States were almost entirely 'republican.' Yet in several (*e.g.*, the Bituriges and Aruerni) there is evidence for the former existence of kings.

that kingly power seems to increase in proportion to the distance we advance from the borders of southern civilisation. Of the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Roman frontier, only the Hermunduri and the Marcomanni are known to have been monarchical, and of these the latter were newcomers. Of the Goths, whose position was far more remote, we are told that "they were subject to somewhat more strict kingly government, though not to a degree incompatible with liberty."¹ Among the Swedes, on the other hand, the most remote people of undoubtedly Teutonic blood mentioned by Tacitus, the king's power is said to be subject to no reservations.²

The presence of a priesthood and monarchy side by side in the same state is no insuperable objection to this theory. The case may arise in several ways. The sanctity attached to the king may become so great that he comes to be regarded as too holy to engage in war or to transact worldly business. A viceroy is then appointed, such as we find among the Volga Russians. This vicereignty may become hereditary and gradually develop into kingship. This is what is actually found among the Franks. The vicereignty became hereditary among the descendants of Pippin of Landen, though more than a century elapsed before the Merowing family ceased to reign.³ In early times, however, it is frequently the case that the monarchy is not co-extensive with the tribe. Sometimes we find several kings in the same tribe—a case which often arose through the division of power between brothers. In other cases the same king rules over several tribes. Such was the case with Ariouistus, Maroboduus, and other kings with whom the Romans came in contact. This may arise either through conquest or through the attainment of predominant influence

¹ *Germ.*, 43.

² *Germ.*, 44.

³ The adoption of Christianity of course prevented the Merowings from actually performing priestly functions.

in time of peace. The king of the subject tribe usually disappears sooner or later, but under ordinary conditions the tribe seems to preserve its corporate existence—consequently also its assembly and a tribal priesthood. It may be observed that in the Roman age the monarchies of the southern and western Germans seem as a rule to have been short-lived.

On the whole therefore I am much inclined to accept this explanation. It would, of course, be easier to give a definite answer if we knew how the priests were chosen. Jordanes says that (in the case of the Goths) they were drawn from the nobility; but, assuming that the same rule held good elsewhere, one would like to know whether the choice was still further limited, *e.g.*, to the community living in the immediate neighbourhood of the tribal sanctuary. There is a certain similarity, as has been shown above, between the position of the priests and that of the lawmen and *spekingar* of the North. Now among these the succession seems in general to be hereditary. The Swedish *spekingar* (like the ancient kings) appear to have held their position in virtue of their descent from the god Frö. This is shown by a passage of Saxo (viii., p. 383 f.). Describing the constitution of Ringo's army at the battle of Bravalla, he proceeds:—"The bravest of the Swedes were these: Arwacki, Keclu, Croc agrestis, Guthfast, Gummi from Gyslamarchia; these were of the household of the god Frö, and most faithful intermediaries of the deities (*fidissimi numinum arbitri*). Ingi also and Oly, Aluuer and Folki, sons of Elric, embrace Ringo's service; . . . they also traced the origin of their race to the god Frö." Whatever may be the precise meaning of the phrase *numinum arbitri*, there can, I think, be little doubt that it is the *spekingar* or priest-councillors of Upsala, who are here referred to.¹

¹ It is to be observed that Ringo (*i.e.* Sigurðr Hringr) did not belong to the old native dynasty. This dynasty, the Ynglingar or descendants of the god Frö, who seem to have borne a distinctly priestly character, must, according

May not the priesthood of (*e.g.*) the Semnones have originated in a similar manner? Although this tribe formed only an outlying portion of Maroboduus' kingdom, they claimed to be the oldest and noblest branch of the Suevic race. The chief ground of this claim seems to have lain in the possession of an ancient grove-sanctuary, which they believed to be the dwelling place of their god and the cradle of their race. The presence of embassies from all the kindred tribes at their national festivals testifies to the general acceptance of the claim. I do not see how such assent can have been gained, unless the Semnones had once possessed a powerful native dynasty tracing its descent to the tribal god.¹

NOTE I.—THE TRIBAL TRADITION.

One of the most important elements in the law, which it was the special duty of the priests to preserve, was doubtless the tradition of the tribe's origin. We find references to these traditions even in the *Germania*. Indeed from C. 2 it would seem that the Germans had already become conscious of the unity of their race, and had classified the various ancestors in a common genealogy. Such a genealogy necessarily presupposes the existence of many tribal traditions, and consequently also of tribal cults. The question of these tribal cults has hardly received the attention it deserves. I believe that many of the difficulties of Germanic mythology are due to the combination into one system, of cults which were once peculiar to different tribes and localities.

to the tradition, have lost the kingdom about the end of the seventh century. The greater part of Sweden, together with Denmark, then passed into the hands of a family which is said to have belonged originally to Skânö. Since both the nation and the national cult survived the change of dynasty, the substitution of a foreign king for the old native line may somewhat have favoured the development of priestly powers in the hands of those princes of the native house who remained.

¹ Irmin? But the words *regnator omnium deus* refer probably not to the tribal god but to the thunder-god. In the temple at Upsala also it is not Frö but Thor who occupies the chief place.

In the North the clearest case of a tribal cult is that of Thorgerðr Hölgabrúðr. In one respect this cult holds a peculiar position. Thorgerðr is never mentioned as a member of the divine community either in the mythological poems or in *Gylfaginning*, nor does she stand in any kind of relationship to the rest of the gods. Her cult formed no part of the orthodox religion of the North. In *Skaldskaparmál* 52 it is stated that she was the daughter of Hölig, the founder of the Hálogaland monarchy; after their deaths they were both honoured with worship. According to Saxo (iii., p. 116), however, she was the wife of Helgo (*i.e.* Hölgi) and daughter of Cuso (*i.e.* Gusi), King of the Lapps. This seems to be the older version, not only because Saxo gives the myth in some detail, but also because Thorgerðr seems to bear a distinctly Lappish character, *e.g.* in her use of the bow and in the practice of magical arts.¹ She seems to have been one of the powers revered by the Halogalander Ketill Hæng, who, like other members of his family, did not worship the generally recognised gods.² She is also said to have been worshipped by an Icelandic settler named Grimkell, who came from Orkadal, a district to the south of the Throndhjem Fjord.³ Beyond this her cult is only known in connection with the celebrated Earl Hakon of Hladir, who ruled Norway from 975 to 995. She and her sister Irpa seem to have been the chief, if not the only, objects of his worship. He raised several costly temples to her honour,⁴ and is even reported, on what appears to be fairly good authority, to have sacrificed his son to her in his battle with the Íomsvíkingar.⁵ Yet, in spite of Hakon's great position and the fact that he was the last important champion of heathenism in Norway, her cult seems to have met with no general acceptance. She appears indeed to have been regarded rather as a troll than a goddess.

How then is Hakon's worship to be explained? The reason is that he traced his descent from the ancient

¹ Cf. *Olafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat), 154 f., 173.

² *Saga Ketils Hængs*, 5 (*F. A. S.*, ii., pp. 131, 135); *Örvar-Odds. s.* 17 (*F. A. S.*, ii., p. 228).

³ *Hardar s.* 19 (*Islend. Sög.* ii., p. 59).

⁴ *Olafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat.), 114, 173, 326; *Nials s.* 88.

⁵ *Olafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat.), 154; cf. Saxo, x., p. 483.

kings of Halogaland.¹ When his ancestors migrated to the south, they must have brought their family cult with them. The persistent nature of family worship is shown by the fact that we find the family settled in the neighbourhood of the Thronthjem Fjord at least a century before Hakon acquired the government of Norway.²

There is reason for believing that the cult of Frö is another, and more important, example of the same class. Frö was one of the great gods of the North, and his cult deserves close attention. It has been generally assumed by modern mythologists that he was a god of the sky or sun, but for this theory there is no ground beyond an isolated passage in *Gylfaginning* (c. 24). The mythological poems throw little light on his character and need not be discussed here. But the allusions to his cult, which are fairly frequent in historical and quasi-historical works, will, I think, when carefully considered, place beyond doubt that it was originally of a local or tribal character.

According to Adam of Bremen (iv., 26) the temple at Upsala contained three figures, representing the gods Thor, Othin, and 'Fricco,' respectively. Of 'Fricco,' by which he certainly means Frö, he says that he was regarded as the dispenser of peace and pleasure to mortals, that his representation was phallic, and that he was invoked especially at marriages. Elsewhere Frö is represented as the giver of fertility in general. In Sweden his image was carried round the country, apparently in autumn, in a cart drawn by oxen, and accompanied by a young woman who attended to his sanctuary, and was regarded as the god's wife.³ His cult was known also in Norway, especially in Inner Thronthjem,⁴ and from Norway was carried to Iceland, where it seems to have been connected especially with the harvest festival.⁵

¹ It is curious that in Eyvindr's poem (*Háleygiatal*), of which only some fragments remain, Hakon's genealogy is traced, not to Hölg and Thorgerdr, but to Othin and Skadi. The introduction of Othin's name may be due in part to the influence of *Ynglingatal*, but it is probable also that Hakon may have wished to conciliate popular opinion by tracing his descent from the generally accepted deities. Skadi, a goddess of Lappish character but accepted in the Northern pantheon, has been cleverly substituted for the hated Thorgerdr.

² *Haralds s. Hårf.* 7.

³ *Olafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat.), 277.

⁴ *Olafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat.), 322 f.

⁵ Cf. *Gisla s. Surssonar*, i., p. 27.

Freyr (*i.e.* Frö), Niördr, and Thor were the three names invoked at the opening of the Icelandic assembly, and in the oath which was taken in courts of justice, which seems to show that they were regarded as the chief gods of the land.¹

The Ynglinga Saga gives the following account of Frö : Niördr and his son Frö did not originally belong to the Aesir (Othin's tribe), but to a tribe named Vanir; they were given to the Aesir as hostages. Othin made them temple-priests, and after his death Niördr, and subsequently Frö, succeeded him in the monarchy. They continued to receive the tribute which had first been paid to Othin, and their reigns were blessed with prosperity and peace. Frö fixed his capital at Upsala and built a great temple there. When he died, his death was concealed, and his body carried secretly into a great howe. The tribute-money was still taken and poured into the howe. After three years the Swedes became aware that he was dead, but since prosperity and peace still continued, they believed that such would be the case as long as Frö was in Sweden. Therefore they would not burn him in accordance with Othin's ordinances; but they called him 'the god of the world' and sacrificed to him for peace and prosperity ever afterwards. The Saga then goes on to describe the reigns of his son and grandson and subsequent descendants, the Yngling kings of Sweden. According to this story Frö is obviously the tribal god of the Uppland Swedes and the ancestor of the Yngling family. We have seen, however, that he was also worshipped in Norway. Yet the cult may have been brought here from Sweden. When King Olafr Tryggvason was Christianising the district of Inner Thronhjøm, he seized the figure of Frö out of its temple and brought it to the assembly. He is represented in the Saga as haranguing the assembly in order to convince them that the figure was not divine. Frö, he said, was a king who formerly lived in Sweden. He was so popular that on his death it was resolved that some men should be shut up alive with him in his howe. No one, however, was willing to undergo this fate. They therefore made two wooden men and put them in the howe with Frö,

¹ *Hialpi mér svá Freyr ok Niördr ok hinn almttki Áss*; *Island. Sög. i.*, pp. 258, 334.

under the supposition that these would give him pleasure. After a long lapse of time robbers broke into the howe and took out the wooden figures. They were then overcome with fear and fled. The Swedes kept one of the figures and sent the other to Throndhjem. Both were called Frö and worshipped.¹ This story seems to show that the cult of Frö was believed to have been imported into Norway from Sweden.

There is no evidence that Frö was ever worshipped in Denmark. He is mentioned, however, by Saxo five times. Two of these passages, referring to him as the ancestor of Swedish heroes at Bravalla, have already been quoted. The other passages are: i., p. 49 f., which states that Hadingus, having killed an unknown sea-monster, offered a sacrifice to Frö, in order to propitiate the deities. He ordained this sacrifice to be a permanent institution, recurring regularly as the years rolled by. It is called *Fröblod* by the Swedes. Again, iii., p. 120: Frö, the satrap of the gods, took up his abode near Upsala, and instituted a new method of sacrifice to the gods by offering human victims. Lastly, vi., p. 278: Starcatherus stays seven years in Sweden with the sons of Frö, until the proceedings at Upsala, at the time of the sacrifices, drive him away in disgust. This seems to have been during the days of the Yngling dynasty. In every passage therefore Saxo seems to regard Frö as an essentially Swedish god. *Fröblod* is probably the name of the great Upsala festival.

All accounts then point to Sweden, and especially Upsala, as the home of the cult. The story of the howe-burial, and the belief that the preservation of Frö's body would entail a continuance of the blessings which had been enjoyed during his lifetime, is an illustration of the common Northern belief that the spirits of the dead continued their existence in the family howe, and were able to confer blessings upon their surviving kinsfolk and descendants. We may compare the burial of Halfdan the Black, father of Haraldr Hárfagri. On account of his popularity the four regions of his kingdom disputed for the possession of his body. The dispute was settled by cutting the body up into

¹ *Olafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat.), 323.

four pieces, each of which was howe-laid in a different region.¹

The cult of Frö, though by far the most important of these ancestral cults, does not by any means stand alone. There can be little doubt that Skiöldr must once have occupied among the Danes a position somewhat similar to that of Frö among the Swedes. In extant documents he is not often referred to as a god, but the importance of his cult may be estimated by the long continuance of the name, Skiöldungar, as a designation for the Danes.² I suspect also that the origin of the Balder-myths is to be found in a tribal cult, though it is difficult to fix its locality. At any rate, the existence of two independent traditions, the one favourable, the other hostile to Balder, seems best to be explained on this hypothesis. It is not unlikely that the cults of Ullr and Heimdallr had a similar origin.

Cults of the same kind were known also on the Continent. In the Old Saxon Renunciation Formula, the convert is called upon to renounce *Thunaer, Woden, and Saxnot*. The last name is identical with the name *Seaxneat*, which stands at the head of the royal genealogy of Essex. We can scarcely go wrong in regarding this personage as a tribal god of the Saxons.

Most of the other English royal houses traced their descent through Woden to a certain Geat, of whom Asser (*ad init.*) says that he was worshipped long ago by the pagans as a god. He seems to be the same individual who is represented in *Deor*, 15 f., as robbed of all sleep by his passionate love.³

Heligoland was dedicated to a god Fosite.⁴ This name is never met with elsewhere,⁵ and it seems likely that his cult was purely local.

Tacitus (*Germ.*, 2) says that the Germans classified their race in three great divisions, Inguæones, Herminones, and

¹ *Halfdanar s. Svarta* (*Heimskr.*), 9.

² Its occurrence in *Beowulf* shows that it must have been in use as early as the sixth century. We find the Danes called *Scaldungi* in the *Historia de S. Cuthberto*, §7, 11 (Symeon of Durham, *R. S.*, i. pp. 200, 202). The myth is given in *Beowulf*; cf. also *Ethelwerd*, iii., 3; *Malmesbury*, ii., §116.

³ A similar myth is told of Frö in *Skirnismál*.

⁴ *Alcuin, Vita Willebrordi*, c. 10.

⁵ Some writers, however, have identified him with a Norwegian god Forseti, who in *Gylf*, 32, is said to be Balder's son. The identification is based on the assumption of a scribal error in the *Vita Willebrordi*.

Istæuones,¹ according to their descent from the three sons of Mannus. It seems likely therefore that worship was once paid to these brothers. Perhaps the cult of Irmin may be traced. When the elder Drusus was on his expedition to the Elbe in B.C. 9, he heard that there were 'pillars of Hercules' in existence, but was prevented from obtaining more precise information by the difficulty of crossing the sea. From Tacitus' account (*Germ.*, 34) it would seem that these pillars were rumoured to be in the direction of Holstein. Now this was, in the second century, the country occupied by the Saxons.² In the time of Karl the Great, that is to say some centuries after the westward migration of the Saxons, the chief object of their worship was a lofty wooden pillar in the neighbourhood of Eresburg. This pillar, which was called Irminsul (*quod latine dicitur uniuersalis columna*), was destroyed by Karl in the year 772.³ Is it not likely that the Saxons practised a similar cult in their earlier home, and that this was the source of the story mentioned by Tacitus? This view is especially favoured by a passage of Widukind (i., 12). After describing a legendary victory of the Saxons, he proceeds: "In the morning they planted their eagle at the eastern gate, and piling up an altar of victory, they paid appropriate reverence to the objects of their worship, according to the superstition of their fathers, representing by name Mars, by the likeness of pillars Hercules, by position the Sun, who is called Apollo by the Greeks." By 'Mars,' he means Irmin, as is shown by the next sentence: "hence the view of those who hold that the Saxons are descended from the Greeks, has a certain amount of probability, for Mars is called Hirmin or Hermis in Greek." In spite of the confusion of native and Græco-Roman mythology, this passage shows that the Irminsul was connected with the cult of a deity or hero named Irmin, and renders it probable that this was the god whom the Romans called 'Hercules.' The cult of Hercules was known also to the Cherusci, another tribe of the Irminones, though there is no evidence that

¹ These names are represented in several different forms in the MSS. of Tacitus and Pliny. The true form of the second is, of course, *Erminones*.

² Ptol., 2, xi., 11, 17; cf. G. Schütte's instructive paper, *Var Anglerne Tyskere?* (Flensburg, 1900), p. 47 ff.

³ *Translatio S. Alexandri*, c. 3; *Enhardi Fuld. Annal.*, 772; for further references cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.*,⁴ i., p. 96 f.

the cult here took the same form. Probably the cult of Irmin was known to all the Irminones, but its association with the sacred pillar may have been peculiar to the Saxons.

In the same way it seems to me not unlikely that the cult of Frö was originally only a local form of a far more widely spread religion. It has often been remarked that Frö bears a strong resemblance to Fróði, the mythical peace-king of the Danes. Again the cult has features in common with that of Nerthus, attributed by Tacitus (*Germ.*, 40) to certain tribes on the south-west shores of the Baltic. The word *Nerthus* is identical with Niördr, the name of Frö's father, while *Frö* itself seems to be an abbreviation for *Ynguifreyr* or *Ingunar-Freyr*, which recall the *Inguæones* of the Roman age. It seems likely therefore that a similar cult was once common to all the maritime tribes.

NOTE II.—PRIESTESSES AND PROPHETESSES IN THE NORTH.

In Icelandic historical works the word *gyðia* occasionally occurs. It seems to be applied to women who belonged to the magisterial families. In *Kristni s. 2* we hear of a certain Fríðgerðr, who is represented as offering sacrifice, and who is called *gyðia* in a verse immediately following. Her husband was absent when the sacrifice was offered, but whether she was acting as his representative or not is not stated. In *Vápnfirðinga s. 10* mention is made of a woman called Steinvör, who possessed a public temple (*höfuð-hof*) and claimed the temple dues from merchants. When these were withheld by a Christian merchant, she applied to her relative Brodd-Helgi for assistance. The case is not altogether clear. It seems probable, however, that Steinvör had inherited the temple, but that the magisterial rights appertaining thereto, which could not be held by a woman,¹ had passed to Brodd-Helgi (perhaps as the nearest male relative). A Thuridr (*hof*-)gyðia is mentioned in *Landn.*,

¹ According to Grágás (ed. Finsen, i., a., p. 142) a *godord*, which had come into the possession of a widow, on the death of her husband, had to be sold. This, however, applies to the Christian period, when the priestly duties of the *goði* had come to an end.

iii. 4, iv. 10, *Vatnsd.* s. 27, and a Thorlaug gyðia in *Landn.*, i., 21, but in these cases the reason for the title is not stated. There is no ground for supposing that the gyðiar laid claim to prophetic powers, any more than the goðar. Outside Iceland there is no historical evidence for the name, though there is no reason why such persons should not have existed, at least in Norway.¹

The völvá or 'wise woman' is a being of an entirely different class. The Icelandic völvur were women who wandered from place to place foretelling the future and practising *seiðr* ('magic').² They had no recognised position in the state, but völvur who had acquired a reputation were often received with great honour, and were accompanied by a considerable number of attendants.³ Their character seems to have been much the same in Norway and other Northern lands; their powers were not doubted, and in the mythological poems, *Völuspá* and *Vegtamskviða*, we find them consulted even by the gods. Yet they appear to be more or less in opposition to the orthodox religion of the North; the mythological poems represent them as hostile to the gods, and the latter disguise themselves when they consult them. It seems probable that the völvur are survivals of a more primitive form of religion. They are to be compared with the *Haliarunos*, or sorceresses, who, according to the legend related by Iordanes (c. 24), were expelled by the Gothic king Filimer from his territories. They seem to have been largely of Lappish or Finnish nationality.⁴ In *Vatnsdæla* s. 10, and *Landn.* iii., 2, we find mention of a Lappish völvá named Heidr. This seems to be a generic name; it is applied also to a mythical völvá in *Völuspá* (R. 29). In Hyndluljóð 31, Heidr and Hrossþjófr are said to be sister and brother; the latter is the Rostiophus Phinnicus, who, according to Saxo (iii., p. 126), was consulted by Othin after Balder's death.⁵ In *Yngl.* s. 16, the mythical völvá

¹ Hof-gyðiar, 'temple-priestesses,' are mentioned in *Herrauds* s. ok Bosa, 8, and *Sturlaugs* s. *Starfsama*, 18. In both cases, however, the temples are Finnish. In the former case the deity worshipped is the Finnish god Iómali, and in the latter 'Thor' probably denotes the same deity.

² We find men also practising *seiðr*, e.g., in *Laxdæla* s., 37; but this was probably always forbidden by the law; cf. *Yngl.* s. 7, *Haralds* s. *Härf.*, 36.

³ Examples are given by Golther, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 649 f.

⁴ Cf. Golther, *op. cit.*, p. 657 f.

⁵ In *Vegtamskviða* it is a völvá.

Huldr is represented as practising seidr on behalf of the Finnish queen Drífa.

The völrur seem to be related in some way to the Nornir. The latter are not, it is true, mentioned in any document that can claim to be called historical; but it seems no unlikely that some primitive custom may be traced in the legends which relate how Norns came to a house to shape the destiny of a newly born child.¹ It is probable that in early times but little distinction was drawn between the 'shaping' and the foretelling of destiny.

The term 'gyðjur' is never applied to the völrur, and there is no evidence that they were regarded as priestesses. They have no part in the three distinctive duties of the Germanic priesthood, namely, the offering of public sacrifices, the preservation of the law, and the guardianship of the sanctuary.

On the other hand it is possible that there may have been at certain sanctuaries a class of 'priestesses' distinct from the Icelandic gyðjur, and showing a certain resemblance to the völrur. According to *Yngl. s. 4*, the goddess Freyia was a *blót-gyðja*, 'sacrificial priestess,' and first taught seidr to the Aesir. After Frö's death she kept up the temple and the sacrifices at Upsala, all the other gods being now dead. But it is doubtful if this story is founded on old tradition, for there is no evidence that Freyia was known in Sweden. She was the favourite goddess of Icelandic mythology, and the author may have contrived to bring her into the story by introducing a feature from the political organisation of his own country. It is possible, however, that there were women somewhat resembling völrur at the Upsala sanctuary. In the portraiture of the mythical sanctuary Ásgarðr, three maidens, or 'Norns,' are represented as living beneath Yggdrasill's Ash. Their duties were to water the tree from the sacred spring and to shape the destiny of men.² Now it can hardly be doubted that the picture of Ásgarðr is in great measure drawn from some Northern sanctuary; and in all probability this was Upsala. It is not indeed stated that there were 'Norns' beneath the evergreen tree or in the neighbourhood of the sacred spring

¹ Cf. *Helga kv. Hund.*, i., 2 ff.; *Saga af Nornagesti*, 11.

² *Völ. R.*, 19, 20, 28; *Gylf.* 15 f.

at Upsala.¹ But it was apparently a Northern custom to deliver prophetic utterances beside sacred springs.² We know also that Upsala possessed an oracle so famous that it was consulted even by foreign princes.³ Again, in the story of Gunnar Helmingr—whatever may be its foundation in fact—we find mention of a young woman who attended to Frö's sanctuary and consulted his will.⁴ The hypothesis, therefore, has a certain amount of probability. But it is to be observed that the word 'gyðia' is not used in the story of Gunnar Helmingr, and, if the sanctuary-prophetesses at Upsala formed the model of the mythical Norns, it is hardly likely that they can have been regarded as priestesses in the Northern sense.⁵ They are rather to be compared with the Greek prophetesses at the shrine of Delphi, while the godar or 'spekingar' may have corresponded in some degree to the *ῥοιολοι*.

¹ The locality of the temple mentioned by Saxo (vi., p. 272) cannot be definitely fixed; but, from the context, it seems not unlikely that it was the Upsala temple. In any case the passage affords an interesting parallel to the representation of Ásgarðr. "It was the custom of the ancients to consult the oracles of the Fates in regard to the future destiny of their children. Fridleuus (a mythical king of the Danes), desiring by this method to ascertain the destiny of his son Olauus, solemnly offers his vows and comes to the temple of the gods to pray. There, looking into the sanctuary, he sees three seats occupied by three nymphs." The nymphs proceed to 'shape' the destiny of his son in a manner exactly similar to that described in the *Saga af Nornagesti*.

² Cf. *Háv.* 110: "It is time to prophesy on the prophet's chair beside the spring of Fate."

³ Cf. Saxo, vii., p. 360; *Yngl.* s. 42.

⁴ *Ólafs s. Tryggv.* (Flat), 277.

⁵ It is uncertain from what class they were drawn. In Saxo's account of Ragnar Lodbrok (ix., p. 443) it is the Swedish king's daughter who feeds the snakes—a duty which among the Prussians was performed by the priestesses. On the whole, however, it seems more probable that the sanctuary prophetesses were drawn from a lower class of society.

POSTSCRIPT.—P. 280, n. 1. From *Haralds s. Hårf.*, 7, *Hak. s. Góðu*, 19, *Ólafs s. Tryggv.*, 74 ff. (all from *Heimskr.*), it seems probable that the priesthood at Maeren was a survival of an old confederacy of hereditary chiefs. It is to be observed that in *Haralds s. Hårf.*, 7, these chiefs are called kings.

REVIEWS.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS. By FRANZ BOAS. (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. II. Anthropology, I. The Jesup North Pacific Expedition.)

IN this monograph we have a further instalment of Dr. Boas' exhaustive investigations into the tribes of the Pacific Coast of Canada and Alaska. The Bella Coola, properly Bilxula, speak a Salishan dialect, and inhabit the shores of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, and the course of the Bella Coola River. Though now few in numbers they seem to have once been more populous. Both their physical appearance and their customs and beliefs lead to the opinion that, though originally of Salishan stock, they are much mingled with the Athapascan and the Northern Coast tribes.

Alone among the North Pacific tribes the Bella Coola have developed something like a systematic mythology. The universe, according to their idea, consists of five worlds, two above and two below our world, which is the middle one. In the two upper worlds live the gods. The supreme deity, a goddess named Qamāits, resides in the upper heaven. In the lower one is a remarkable building called Nusmeta, the House of Myths, where the other gods dwell. The master of the house is the Sun, often called Tāata, our father, the only being to whom the Bella Coola pray. What we call a totem-post stands outside the house, covered with representations of all kinds of birds, and surmounted by a white crane. The gods are concerned with the winter-ceremonial, which corresponds to that of the sacred societies of the Kwakiutl. We might expect that the gods, living together in one house, would be regarded as a clan. The social organisation, however, of the Bella Coola is not formed on the gens. The village community forms the unit, and the traditions and the ceremonies in which they are represented are the common possession of the village. We may conjecture, then, that in con-

sequence of the want of the clan-organisation the relationship of the gods to one another is, except in a few cases, left undefined. The names of many of them, and of some of the monsters with which, like that of other nations, the mythology of the Bella Coola is plentifully furnished, are of Kwakiutl origin. Kwakiutl influence is also betrayed in other ways, such as the physical appearance and customs. But this is by no means enough to account for the highly organised mythology. For this Dr. Boas is of opinion that the Bella Coola are indebted to the general mental stimulus imparted by contact with the neighbouring tribes when they settled on the Bella Coola River, where they now are.

Every village traces its beginning to mythical ancestors sent down by the Sun. These ancestors are sometimes single individuals, more usually three men and a woman, who are often called brothers and sister, though there is nothing said of their parentage. Apparently the woman sustained, in some cases at least, the relation of wife to one or more of the men. This, however, is not quite clear; and the traditions relate the adventures sometimes of one and sometimes of more of the men, representing them as taking wives in the course of their journeys and of course having children. There is thus a contradiction between the actual practice of the Bella Coola and that ascribed to their mythical heroes, for the Bella Coola villages are strictly endogamic. How does this contradiction arise? It must be ascribed either to an earlier exogamy or to foreign influence. Dr. Boas does not directly tackle the question. He considers that the Bella Coola, when they first met with that branch of the Kwakiutl (the Bella Bella), by which they seem to have been influenced, were "distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic." In other words they retained their Salishan organisation. They are still not exogamic, and yet there is reason to believe that their blood is mingled with that of the Bella Bella. The village traditions are considered by Dr. Boas to embody some historical reminiscences, so far at all events as concerns the migrations of the mythical ancestors. If this be so, we may perhaps infer that the incidents of the marriage of the heroes to the daughters of one or other mythical or human being are the form in which the facts of the intercourse with the Bella Bella and perhaps other tribes are transmitted. What is curious is that the Bella Coola villages

should have relapsed after this intercourse into an endogamy of the strictest kind. Dr. Boas accounts for this by the desire to emulate the surrounding tribes in the exclusive possession of special traditions. Among the surrounding tribes the clan-traditions are property very jealously guarded, but transmissible by marriage. If I rightly understand Dr. Boas, the Bella Coola have been infected with similar jealousy, and have come to regard their traditions as property likewise, and as transmissible in the same way. Endogamy would in that case have the effect of keeping the exclusive possession of given traditions within the village. Dr. Boas accordingly assigns this motive for it. But if endogamy be the ordinary rule of the Coast Salish, I cannot help thinking that the endogamy of the Bella Coola is a reversion to the earlier customs of the race chiefly due to racial instincts, however those instincts may have been reinforced, and rendered more stringent, by other motives.

Incorporated with some of the village traditions is material of very recent date. One, for instance, relates that six men and a woman were sent down from the House of Myths. "In their house all the languages were *written down*, and were distributed among the various tribes." Probably the reference to the distribution of languages, but certainly the mention of writing, is of a date long since the villagers became acquainted with civilised people. It would be interesting to examine the stories with a view to ascertaining how far such modern material extends.

The lower worlds are the regions of the dead. The description of the world immediately below our own is derived from shamans who have been there. It is much like this world, but with a difference. Winter there is summer here. Night there is day here. The souls of the dead speak a different language from ours, and receive a new name. They walk on their heads, not on their feet. They have—this is a gruesome thought—a dancing-house just beneath the cemetery of every earthly village. If a person once enters the dancing-house there is no return to this world. Otherwise, there is a rope ladder whereby he may climb to the lower heaven, and thence be born again into the family to which he previously belonged. There appears to be no belief in retribution. A dead man who does not avail himself of the opportunity for a new birth, after awhile dies the second death, and, sinking to the lowest world, comes back no more.

I must pass over the mythological beings not forming part of

the community in the House of Myths, as well as other stories more or less common to the Pacific tribes. I have said enough to give some notion of the many interesting problems which the mythology of the Bella Coola discloses. Dr. Boas discusses some of them in two final chapters, full of arguments and observations deserving of careful study. I shall take the liberty of transcribing some of the weighty remarks with which he brings this admirable monograph to a conclusion. "The mind of the Bella Coola philosopher, operating with the class of knowledge common to the earlier strata of culture, has reached conclusions similar to those that have been formed by man the world over, when operating with the same class of knowledge. On the other hand the Bella Coola has also adopted ready-made the thoughts of his neighbours, and has adapted them to his environment. These two results of our inquiry emphasise the close relation between the comparative and the historic methods of ethnology, which are so often held to be antagonistic. Each is a check upon rash conclusions that might be attained by the application of one alone. It is just as uncritical to see, in an analogy of a single trait of culture that occurs in two distinct regions, undoubted proof of early historical connection as to reject the possibility of such connection, because sometimes the same ideas develop independently in the human mind. Ethnology is rapidly outgrowing the tendency to accept imperfect evidence as proof of historical connection, but the comparative ethnologist is hardly beginning to see that he has no right to scoff at the historical method. Our inquiry shows that safe conclusions can be derived only by a careful analysis of the whole culture. . . . All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe. When we confine ourselves to comparing isolated traits of culture we open the door to misinterpretations without number."

I will only add that there are six excellent plates of masks and carvings of the tribe, representing mythological personages.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

MALAY MAGIC: BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLKLORE AND POPULAR RELIGION OF THE MALAY PENINSULA. By WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT. With a Preface by CHARLES OTTO BLAGDEN. Pp. 685, 28 plates. Macmillan and Co. 1900.

It is natural to expect that the folklore of a people, that has been subjected to the double influence of Brahminism and Buddhism since about the third century, and for the last four or five hundred years has adopted the religion of Islam with the civilisation that accompanies it, should be of a somewhat piebald character with distinct marks of stratification. Underlying all this, however, is the native bed-rock of animism which, combined with a belief in sympathetic magic, yields an abundant supply of beliefs, ceremonies, magic formulas, and taboos, sufficient to fill a stout volume. The greater gods, for instance, are Hindu divinities in Malay dress, for only the lesser gods and spirits are of native origin. Shiva is known as Batara Guru, and is regarded as the greatest of gods, while Vishnu, Brahma, Kala, and Sri are frequently appealed to. The Malay Drama is largely indebted to India, and many of the plots are derived from the Ramayana and other Indian epics. As the Malay does not seem to possess a speculative mind, in various legends of the creation of the world and the creation of man, Arab influence is clearly shown, as well as in some charms and in marriage and burial customs.

In the Malay Peninsula the theory of the king as the Divine Man, who can slay at pleasure without being guilty of crime, seems to be held in all its fulness. He is credited with all the attributes of inferior gods, and his birth is attended by amazing prodigies. He is usually invulnerable, and gifted with miraculous powers. Yet it would be interesting to trace these beliefs to their origin. They can hardly, I think, be of purely native growth, for other Malay peoples at a more primitive stage of culture either have no kings, or, if they have, credit them with far less power.

It is seldom one finds such a mass of mining-lore as Mr. Skeat has garnered. It makes one wonder whether the miners of the Cassiterides had taboos analogous to those of the Malays. From the Malay point of view, tin-ore is endued with vitality and the power of growth. Its spirit can assume the form of a buffalo and move underground from place to place. Certain words, such as elephant, buffalo, cat, snake, lime (fruit), tin-sand, tin, the use of

which would offend the spirit, are tabooed. As the spirits dislike noise, all eating-vessels should be of cocoanut shell or of wood. No animal must be killed in a mine. The miner must wear trousers; yet it is forbidden to wear shoes or to carry an umbrella or to wear a *sarong* (Malay skirt) in a mine.

Not less interesting are the agricultural customs and ceremonies, founded on a belief in spirits of vegetation and sympathetic magic. So it does not sound strange that maize must be planted with a full stomach, and the dibble must be thick, for doing so swells the ear of maize. Cocoa-nuts ought to be planted when the stomach is distended with food, and the nut must be thrown into the hole made for it without straightening the arm, or the fruit-stalk will break. When the rice-harvest arrives, before reaping it, leave must be obtained from the medicine-man (*parwang*), and a propitiatory service must be performed as a sort of apology to the rice for cutting it. Then the "Rice Soul" must be secured and made comfortable. It resides in seven stems of rice, taken from the spot where the rice is best and where there are seven joints in the stalk. It must be noted too that these are the first stalks that are cut.¹ They are made into the shape of a baby in swaddling clothes, which is laid in a basket, carried home and placed on a new sleeping-mat. For three days afterwards a set of taboos, identical in many respects with those observed after the birth of a real child, are imposed on the wife of the master of the house. The last sheaf is reaped by the wife of the owner. She then carries it home, where it is threshed and mixed with the Rice Soul.

The ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, which is based on purchase, are for the most part of a civilised nature, though here and there a few survivals crop up. For instance, on the first evening of the marriage ceremony the finger nails and the centre of each palm of the bride and bridegroom are stained with henna in private in the inner apartments, and the second day this is repeated in public to the music of the "Henna Dance." In the henna we have a substitute for blood in connection with marriage rites, such as are elucidated by Mr. Sidney Hartland in the *Legend of Perseus*. Again, the arrival of the bridegroom at the bride's house is the signal for a mimic combat, or his passage is barred by a rope. And after the ceremony before the priest is

¹ Cf. Greek custom, *Folklore*, vii., 147.—ED.

concluded, the bridegroom is carried off by his friends to the outer chamber, where he has to "ask pardon." Nominally the bridegroom is expected to remain about two years at the house of the bride. After this he can remove to a house of his own. But to Hindu influence may be attributed the custom of treating the bride and bridegroom as royal personages for the time being, and terming them *Raja sari*, "the sovereigns of a day." Abduction by force is also known, but seems always to be compounded for by a subsequent payment to the girl's parents. In its very mildest form a suitor merely sends his *keris* or dagger to the house of the girl's parents, with the message that he is ready to pay double the usual expenses.

In the more extended sense of the word the Malays are familiar with some of the aspects of the *couvade*. During the pregnancy of his wife a man has to be very careful in his actions lest they should have a prejudicial effect on the child and cause deformity. Formerly it was a taboo to hurt or take the life of any animal, to cut his own hair, or to sit in the doorway of his house. The wife has to be equally careful not to disparage any man or beast, or the qualities she dislikes will be reproduced in her child. And she must not sleep in the daytime, or her child will fall a prey to evil spirits.

The services of the *parawang* or medicine-man are naturally in constant request. He is the handy man that can turn his hand to anything, and has a charm, generally accompanied by an elaborate ceremony, for every emergency. In dealing with spirits—he is the recognised medium between them and mankind—he acts precisely as if they were human beings speaking the same language as himself, and actuated by ordinary human motives. It is impossible to read the majority of Malay charms without being struck by their remarkable likeness to those from Finland. They have the same ring, and often contain phrases for which very exact parallels can be found in Finnish examples, though sometimes the imagination of the Malay is more vividly expressed. As in Finland, to inform a spirit, animal, or natural object of the source from which it originates renders it powerless. So "I know the origin from which thou springest," "I know your origin," are frequently in the mouths of the *parawang*; and just as in Finland evil spirits may be addressed, "Retire ye hence to the depths of the ocean, to the peace of the primeval forest," "Return to the big

virgin jungle, return to your caverns and hill-locked basins, to the stream that has no headwaters, to the pond that was never dug, &c." If a spirit or creature will not obey a civil request, it is of course threatened: "If ye retire not from hence, as you stride your leg will break, as you stretch your hand out your hand shall be crippled . . . moreover your tongue shall be split by a bamboo splinter, &c." "If you (wild pigeons) descend not, the Bear-cat shall devour you, if you come not, wild beasts shall devour you . . . if you fly upwards, you shall be swooped upon by kites and eagles, &c." The *pawang* often asserts that it is not he that does a particular act, but someone else. He does this either to remove the blame from his own shoulders, or to give greater force to his words, being but the mouthpiece of a greater person. For example: "It is not I who spear you (a deer), it is Pawang Sidi who spears you;" "It is not I who cast out these mischiefs, it is the Junior Dogboy who casts them out;" "It is not I that make this peace-offering, it is old Togok the Wizard who makes it, it is the Elder Wizard who makes it." The Finnish wizard is also familiar with this fiction. In fishing, fowling, and mining charms, certain words are tabooed as offensive to the particular fish, bird, or metal. Thus the hut of the fowler is the "Magic Prince," the nooses are "Solomon's necklaces;" tin-ore is addressed as "Rice Grains," "Spinach-seed," "Tobacco-seed," "Millet, &c.;" a fish must be termed "Tree-leaves" or "Jetsam." It is not improbable that the *Kennings* of Scandinavian poetry, especially those relating to the sea and ships, and the figurative expressions in Finnish magic poetry have a similar root. With the gradual decay of the idea which gave birth to them, they would be applied to other objects by analogy, and so increase in numbers till they came to be regarded as mere poetical embellishments with unlimited power of multiplication.

In the limits of a short notice it is not possible to do justice to the ample folklore material collected by Mr. Skeat or even to indicate its contents with appropriate fulness. Suffice to say that the Malay in various conditions of life is followed from birth to the grave. And if a few matters are passed over, such as the ancient organisation of the clan and the tribe, it is probably because the Malays of the Peninsula have outlived that stage, owing to their higher civilisation. A considerable number of illustrations materially enhance the value of the book.

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

ARADIA, OR THE GOSPEL OF THE WITCHES. By CHARLES G. LELAND. Nutt. 3s. 6d.

IN this book Mr. Leland has recorded a number of curious legends relating to Diana, as Queen of the Witches, and to her daughter Aradia (Herodias). It is indeed a kind of "Gospel"—we infer from Mr. Leland's words that his authority calls it the *Vangelo*—as it begins by describing the woes of mankind, to whose aid Diana sends Aradia, teaching them the use of witchcraft. The second chapter describes how to consecrate the witch-supper, giving an invocation of Cain, Diana, and Aradia. The rest of the book contains cosmic myths about Diana, or incantations for winning love, good luck, or prosperity, with a few miscellaneous legends. Diana as queen of the witches is known to us from antiquity, but it would be impossible to produce classical authority for most of the lore of this book. Having regard to the wild nature of the incantations, we have no doubt that the substance of the book is ancient; and we see no reason why it should not be, as Mr. Leland claims, a genuine relic of ancient belief, part of that secret lore which existed side by side with the poetical or systematised mythology. Several other old names, such as Endamione (Endymion), appear in the book; and Tana, as Mr. Leland has pointed out in his *Etrusco-Roman Remains*, is the Etruscan form of Diana.

The question arises, how closely Mr. Leland has adhered to his authorities. A great part of the book is made up of charms, which are given in the Italian, and if the prose translation be as literal as the verse, we have no cause to complain. We wish, however, that the whole text of the *Vangelo* had been given in full; it would have been but a few pages added to the book. And we wish Mr. Leland would always tell us, when he departs from his text, in briefest words what the text is. It might be done, as in *Wide-Awake Stories*, by a summary of events. Enthusiasm Mr. Leland has in plenty, literary taste, and the art of interesting; but he lacks method. In spite of this drawback we heartily welcome his new book. Classical scholarship no less than our own folklore has reason to be grateful to him for his untiring efforts as a collector. He appears to have a dozen new books up his sleeve; we hope they may soon come out.

BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. LIFE AND CUSTOMS. By the
Rev. A. H. SAYCE. (*The Semitic Series.*) Nimmo.

THIS book hardly requires a long notice in our columns, since it is merely a handbook, summing up for popular use the results of scholars' researches. For the purposes of our study we need exact references and the very words of the authorities, neither of which will be found here. There are, of course, many points of custom touched upon which are of importance to us, such as the laws of marriage and succession, burial, law, and religion, but the treatment is too summary. There is not even a bibliography. Yet, although the book will not be of use to the folklore student as such, it is bound to interest him in his private and unprofessional capacity. It is brightly written and clear, full of quaint things which bring home to us the life of the Euphrates valley four or five thousand years ago. Every now and again we are enlivened by one of Professor Sayce's sweeping generalisations—that "mixt races," for example, are "invariably the best," or that cremation was due to sanitary reasons. There are many important illustrations of the Bible, and we fancy we see some readers opening their eyes in horror at Professor Sayce's bold euhemerising of the tower of Babel. In arrangement Professor Sayce is not always happy, or are we to put down to grim humour his coupling together in one chapter Education and Death? The sections on books, libraries, schools, and writing, are of special interest, but the whole book is interesting.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY
OF EUROPE. By W. L. RIPLEY. Boston (Mass.). 1899.

A SELECTION containing upwards of 2,000 titles cannot fail to be of great value to all students of any branch of anthropology. The labour and knowledge of the compiler must be cordially acknowledged. At the same time it must be frankly stated that his judgment is frequently at fault, that his omissions are many and unaccountable, and that his work is weakest when it might have been expected to be strongest, namely, in the selection of works bearing upon the anthropology and ethnology of the British Isles. Moreover, as this is a bibliography compiled by a "specialist," with the definite object of assisting students, one misses those notes of guidance and illumination which the specialist alone can

give. Thus, Mr. Jacobs' three articles upon the anthropology of the European Jew are duly chronicled, likewise his *Studies in Jewish Statistics*. But no hint is given that the latter work is simply a *recueil factice* comprising the three articles.

As regards omissions, no single work of Mr. Gomme is cited. Nor is Mr. Borlase's great work on the *Dolmens of Ireland*, nor Colonel Wood Martin's *Pagan Ireland*. Serials such as the *Archæological Review*, the publications of the Folk-Lore Society, or the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, have been entirely neglected. In short, the institutional and psychical sides of anthropology have scant attention paid to them (not one of Professor Kovalevsky's works is noted), and the treatment of the British Isles compares unfavourably with that of the Continent. This is an American compilation, and it behoves Englishmen to be alive to the fact that from the point of view of culture, of science in the wide sense of the word, America is steadily drifting away from England. This is not to be wondered at; England as a nation flouts culture and disdains science. But it is a little hard that just in the one field of research, psychical anthropology, in which Englishmen are holding their own, their efforts should fail of recognition at the hands of their American cousins.

ALLGEMEINE METHODIK DER VOLKSKUNDE. L. SCHERMANN UND F. S. KRAUSS. Berichte ueber Erscheinungen in den Jahren 1896-97. Erlangen: F. Junge. 1899.

THIS is an offprint from K. Vollmöller's *Kritisches Jahresbericht ueber die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, vol. iv., part 3. It might therefore be supposed that it would pay special attention to works on folklore as exemplified in the literatures of the various Romance-speaking peoples. This is by no means the case. The work consists of two portions, the first, by Dr. L. Schermann, dealing with studies on the science of folklore (chiefly such as have appeared in our publications), issued from 1884 to 1890. It is good as far as it goes. I cannot speak so favourably of the larger portion of the work due to Dr. Krauss. He has noticed a great number of separate works as well as articles in periodicals; his remarks are suggestive, often interesting, generally sound. But the absence of any index, the arbitrary and fantastic division of the subject matter, and still more the arbitrary choice of works dealt with, render the compilation of little practical value. As far

as the latter point is concerned, it may suffice to say that Mrs. Gomme's *Singing Games* is noted, but not her *Traditional Games*, that Mr. Frazer's name is not once mentioned; that Mr. Hartland's *Science of Fairy Tales* is cited, but not his *Legend of Perseus* (and this is a work which deals with the methodology of folklore!); and that Mr. Jacobs, whose work is so often of interest for the Romance scholar as well as for the folklorist, is passed over in complete silence. Strangest omission of all, the ballad problem is not touched upon. M. Gaston Paris' brilliant and revolutionary hypotheses are ignored, and Child's great collection is never once mentioned. Dr. Krauss has rendered such good service to the study that I am loth to speak thus of any work of his, but I am compelled to say that he has done justice neither to his theme nor to himself.

NEUE BEITRÄGE ZUR KENTNISS DES VOLKRÄTHSELS. R. PETSCH.
Berlin: Mayer und Müller. 1899. (Palaestra, No. 4.)

A SCHOLARLY work, well conceived, based on wide and thorough research, and full of interest from the first page to the last. Detailed criticism of an annotated collection of riddles is impossible. I would only say that the author draws fully upon English sources, and that the student of tales and ballads may often glean useful hints from his pages. In two appendices the author reprints an early German riddle chap-book, and discusses the best mode of classifying and editing folk-riddles.

FOLKLORE IN ENGLAND UND AMERIKA. C. KLÖPPER. Dresden:
C. A. Koch. 1899. (Neusprachliche Abhandlungen,
No. viii.)

I ONLY notice this pamphlet as a dreadful example. In sixty-one pages the author has essayed to give a "connected survey of the more important superstitions, customs, and beliefs of the English-speaking race in Great Britain and the United States." The result is worse than worthless; it cannot but be seriously misleading to any one unacquainted at first hand with the sources whence the author draws his information. These are treated as if they were all on the same level; isolated facts are picked out indiscriminately, are stated in the most general terms, and a picture is drawn of which every single item may be accurate, but which

as a whole answers to no reality either in the present or the past. I fear too many English works on the folklore of foreign countries would be open to the same reproach, but the evils of the method are brought home to one when applied to one's own country.

ALFRED NUTT.

SEGNIVS IRRITANT, OR EIGHT PRIMITIVE FOLKLORE STORIES.

By W. W. STRICKLAND. Robert Forder. 1896.

NORTH-WEST SLAV LEGENDS AND FAIRY STORIES. By the same. A sequel to "Segnivs Irritant." Forder. 1897.

SOUTH-SLAVONIC FOLKLORE STORIES. With an Introductory Preface. By the same. Forder. 1899.

LA VEILLÉE : DOUZE CONTES TRADUITS DU ROUMAIN. Par JULES BRUN. Avec une Introduction par Mdlle. LUCILLE KITZO. Paris.

IN order to present a collective view of Slavonic fairy tales, Karel Jaromir Erben published a kind of anthology containing just one hundred such tales, in the very languages in which they had first been made known. Mr. Strickland is now endeavouring to make this anthology known to English folklorists, by as exact a translation as anyone could furnish who, though not too well acquainted with all the *nuances* of the Slavonic dialects, has yet mastered the general tenor of those dialects and languages. The flavour of the original frequently vanishes, though the narrative be correctly reproduced. The translation of the whole hundred tales, to be completed by a fourth still outstanding volume, seems to be the result of an afterthought. In the book mentioned first, Mr. Strickland published a selection of eight tales. They were chosen for the purpose of illustrating a new theory as to the origin of fairy tales, thus explained by the author himself (p. 103): "The analysis of these eight stories has, therefore, brought out into strong relief three important facts about them. (1) They are all solar high-latitude myths, and not low-latitude solar myths of the dawn. (2) They can all be traced to somewhere in the Arctic circle as their point of origin; the total disappearance of the sun in winter and an excessive degree of frost and cold being essential elements in their composition. (3) The hero is *never* the sun, but invariably the latent force of organic life, conceived as some-

how instrumental in bringing back the sun by conquering the forces of death and cold on the earth itself."

Curious diagrams and tables accompany this "explanation" of the eight tales. After the publication of these select specimens the author seems to have bethought himself of translating the remaining ninety-two. There is not much love lost for the Slavs or for Austria in the Preface to vol. iii., which is no less marred by virulence of expression than are many remarks in the first volume. They do not, however, affect the tales, which ought to be read quite independently of these additions.

We deal with a different set of ideas in M. Brun's Introductions to his translations of Rumanian fairy-tales. He belongs soul and body to the "solar theory," and has spent much ingenuity in the Introduction to his first volume, published in 1894, which contained seven tales. The present volume contains an accurate translation of twelve new tales, selected from among the best Rumanian authors. In the Introduction by Miss Kitzo we meet the same spirit of vaingloriousness and wilful ignorance which is so characteristic of Rumanian Chauvinists. For them the Rumanian tales are *the* tales "par excellence:" they represent the highest expression of poetic imagery, and retain "Roman" traditions. Everything is pressed into the service of this infatuation of the Rumanians, who dream themselves to be the true and direct descendants of the Roman legionaries. A glance at the foregoing Slavonic Anthology would teach them better if they were open to such a lesson. Is it not significant in the highest degree that the Rumanian Academy, in offering a prize for the best study on Rumanian fairy tales, pointedly omitted the Slavonic tales from the range of comparison? Saineanu, who won the prize, did therefore compare the Rumanian tales with those of every other tongue and nation, only the Slavonic had to remain *taboo*.

M. G.

FOLK-LORE CATALAN. LÉGENDES DU ROUSSILLON. Par HORACE CHAUVET. Paris: J. Maisonneuve.

ROUSSILLON is a small province at the foot of the Pyrenees, which did not finally become French until the treaty of 1659, and is now the department of Pyrénées Orientaux. It retains its

Catalonian dialect and folklore. Of the latter, M. Chauvet says, only the proverbs and the songs had been collected. He has set himself to collect some of the folktales. "Puisqu'on restaure les vieux monuments," he asks, "pourquoi ne reconstituerait-on pas les pittoresques légendes qui nous sont parvenues à travers les revolutions?" This, however, is the spirit of the literary man, rather than that of the scientific collector. Consequently, pleasant as M. Chauvet's collection is to read, and delightfully told as are some of the legends, they are not transcripts of "oral literature." Most of them seem to have real folktales at their base, and that of *Peau d'Ane* is translated from *Lo Rondallayre* of M. Francisco Maspous of Labros. Incidentally, especially in the notes, useful information is given. The formulas of witchcraft are doubtless likewise genuine. The introduction contains a lifelike sketch of a *veillée d'hiver*, which bears testimony to M. Chauvet's sympathy with the "folk." I can only wish that he had preserved more of the true savour of the folktale in the body of his work, though, in spite of this serious defect, it will have its value as the only representative of the legendary lore of that part of the ancient province of Catalonia situate on the northern side of the Pyrenees.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE TALKING THRUSH AND OTHER TALES FROM INDIA. Collected by W. CROOKE and retold by W. H. D. ROUSE. Illustrated by W. H. ROBINSON. London: J. M. Dent and Co. 1899.

MR. CROOKE collected in India a large number of folktales. Some of them were published by him in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, a publication which is, or ought to be, known to every student of folklore. Many of them, however, still remain in manuscript. *The Talking Thrush* is a selection from the entire collection of some of the stories of the lower animals, recast by Mr. Rouse for children. Very charming and very amusing they are. It would be difficult to have retold them more suitably or more wittily.

The notes record any changes made in retelling, and occasionally refer to parallels. They will thus be of use to students of the apologue. Short explanations of superstitions and other peculiarities are also given where necessary. The story of the Cat and

the Parrot is an amalgam of two tales in no wise related to one another. The former part of it is identical with that of the Little Red Hen (*Folk-Lore*, vol. x., p. 117). The latter part is a variant of the story of the voracious monster, which, after swallowing a number of men and animals, is destroyed, and the objects swallowed brought out alive.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

SHETLAND FOLK-LORE. By JOHN SPENCE, F.E.I.S. Lerwick : Johnson D. Greig.

THE author of this contribution to our knowledge of the folk-speech, folklore, and folk-customs of Shetland, tells us in the preface to his interesting volume, that he has been for more than forty years collecting sayings and superstitions from the lips of the old Shetlanders amongst whom he dwells.

The book is divided into five parts, under the sub-titles of "The Picts and their Brochs," "Pre-historic Remains," "Folklore," "Proverbs and Sayings," and "The Lammas Fog."

It is the section which relates to folklore that I purpose to consider here. Many of the beliefs relating to animals, which Mr. Spence has noted, are not confined to Shetland ; but it is quite right that they should be included in the collection. It is, as most students of folklore know, very difficult to meet with a writer who understands the absolute necessity of noting every custom or belief relating to a district, irrespective of the fact that that it may have been recorded dozens of times as prevailing in other places.

Mr. Spence is not a scientific folklorist, but he has set down all the legends, beliefs, and traditions which have come under his notice ; and he gives us a picture of the life led by the fisher folk and husbandmen of Shetland, which could only be drawn by one familiar with their daily life and occupations. He shows us the real inward life of a people still existing in a mist of traditionary beliefs, which escape the notice of all save the few who are able to penetrate behind the cloud for ever hanging between those who believe and those who criticize old traditions.

It would be a gain to anthropology if others would follow the example set by Mr. Spence, and record the simple everyday customs which are perishing around them.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

PEASANT LORE FROM GAELIC IRELAND. Collected by DANIEL DEENEY. David Nutt. 1900.

THESE little sketches and anecdotes are very well and simply told, and from internal evidence one would say they are perfectly genuine folklore. But the author only tells us that "while most of the items of peasant-lore referred to in this little volume have been drawn directly from the Connemara and the Donegal Highlands, they are nevertheless common to the Gaelic-speaking districts all over Ireland. But they are not exclusively confined to those parts. . . . The majority of them, however, were related to me in the *Bearla briste* (broken English) of a Western peasant, who was invariably obliged, whenever he found it necessary to emphasize any point and to impress it on my mind, to have recourse to the vernacular." This absence of definite detail is a drawback to an attractive little book, which nevertheless is well calculated to inoculate non-folklorist readers with a love of the subject.

BLUEBEARD, A CONTRIBUTION TO HISTORY AND FOLKLORE. BEING THE HISTORY OF GILLES DE RETZ OF BRITTANY, FRANCE, WHO WAS EXECUTED AT NANTES IN 1440 A.D., AND WHO WAS THE ORIGINAL OF BLUEBEARD IN THE TALES OF MOTHER GOOSE. By THOMAS WILSON, LL.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1899.

THIS is a short but full biography, compiled from original documents, of a fifteenth-century baron who fought under Joan of Arc, wrote, and acted in, a play on her life, and was eventually condemned to death on the double charge of wholesale child-murder and of dabbling in magic. As a contribution to the social history of the later Middle Ages, the book is curious, if unpleasant, and the contemporary account of a trial for witchcraft contained in it comes within the range of the folklorist. But otherwise it would be about as sensible to call a life of Henry VIII., the English claimant for *Bluebeard* honours, "a contribution to folklore." We recommend Mr. Hartland's article on "The Forbidden Chamber" (*Folk-Lore Journal*, iii., 193) to the author's notice: also Mr. Baring-Gould's *Book of Werewolves*, in which his repulsive hero has already received sufficient attention.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PRE-ANIMISTIC RELIGION.

(Vol. xi., p. 162.)

I HAD not the pleasure of hearing Mr. Marett's interesting paper on Pre-Animistic Religion, and perhaps the Editor will permit me to make one or two remarks on his argument. In the first thing I ever wrote on these problems, in 1872, I adopted Mr. Marett's view of "Awe"—in presence of what was reckoned the extra-natural, or unfamiliar—as the basis of the religious sentiment. This emotion might, probably, be felt before man had recognised the existence of ghosts, or developed Animism, or the ghost-theory. As to that theory, it really does not matter (for our present purpose) whether it was based on dreams chiefly, or on dreams *plus* hallucinations, in or out of a condition of trance. If coincidental hallucinations and veridical visions occurred, they would, so far, confirm the ghost-theory. But "supernaturalism" might be prior to Animism historically, as Mr. Marett argues.

On the other hand, I doubt if Awe is displayed, as Mr. Marett thinks, when savages yell at a hurricane, or throw filth at the Aurora Borealis! These exercises, in the modern street-boy, denote rather an absence of Awe than otherwise. Again, Mr. Marett regards Baiame, and the other Australian—what shall I call them?—"Beings reckoned superior persons," as myths based on the awe caused by the sound of the Bull Roarer. But the "primitive" Arunta seem to have no awe of the sound; it is a tribal joke among these adult Atheists. Again, Mr. Marett may remark that similar Superior Persons (if that phrase will be passed by my adversaries), occur where we hear nothing of Bull Roarers. I have given examples enough. Mr. Marett will not argue, will he, that Baiame and Co. are apotheoses of the Bull Roarer, and that Puluga, Cagn, Mulunga, Mwetyi, Nzambi, Tui Laga, and so forth, "came otherwise"? For this reason—because where no "Awe inspired by the Bull Roarer" is recorded, beings just like those averred to be sprung from that Awe are existing, I cannot

accept Mr. Marett's singular solution. If we found the Bull Roarer wherever, among low savages, we find a celestial Superior Person, Mr. Marett's logic would be less open to criticism. But we don't.

A. LANG.

By the kindness of the Editor I have been permitted to see the proofs of Mr. Lang's communication ; but the unkindness of certain temporal and local conditions forbids me to reply thereto in as fitting a manner as I could wish. Howbeit I would say a word or two e'en so.

In the first place, it is very encouraging to me (as a tyro in these matters) to find that Mr. Lang had long ago forestalled me in "adopting" the view that forms the backbone of my paper in the last number of *Folk-Lore*. By the way, I suppose that even in 1872 the theory was not exactly new. There are traces of it, I fancy, in *Primitive Culture* (1871)—not to mention the *De Rerum Natura*. But to pass, as the philosophers say, from the standpoint of Origin to that of Validity, am I right in gathering from Mr. Lang's remarks that he still holds more or less by the hypothesis in question? If that be so, then I am so much the more encouraged.

Next, as regards the relevancy of certain of my examples. I confess to having doubted at the time of writing whether the instances of the hurricane and the Aurora Borealis were altogether in point. At all events, however, they seemed to illustrate 'Animatism.' Further, I am by no means convinced that abusive yelling and the throwing of filth "denote rather an absence of Awe than otherwise" in the case of the savage, who after all is a very different person from that product (or bye-product) of civilisation, "the modern street-boy." Thus I take it that an Australian native feels 'awe' of a religious or quasi-religious kind towards the 'dead hand' which he carries about with him as something half-way between a charm and a 'familiar.' Yet, if it do not twitch at the opportune moment, he will not scruple to say to it: 'Speak, or I throw you to the dogs.' Or again, the Zulu may certainly be said to 'worship' the ghost of his departed sire. Yet he is quite capable of winding up an invocation to the latter with the warning: 'Help us, or you will feed on nettles.' Mr. Lang, of course, is perfectly familiar with such facts as these. Will he, then, be pre-

pared to deny that in certain cases—not to claim undue consideration for my somewhat ‘scratch’ individual examples—abuse and the throwing of filth may, at the lower levels of ‘cult,’ cloke a passionate interest as towards ‘powers’ which in essence is wholly one with the feeling that at another moment may issue forth in prayer, sacrifice, or other form of reverential address?

As to “Baïame and Co.,” I would begin by stating that I follow Mr. Lang in believing them to be a genuine achievement of savagery and no mere *réchauffé* of the teachings of missionaries. On the other hand, has Mr. Lang given to the world any general explanation for me to follow of the fact that his “Superior Persons,” from Baïame and Co. to Tui Laga, possess in common a certain ethical quality? Failing to get a decisive ‘lead’ from him, I have to fall back on the well-tried, if unromantic, working hypothesis that moral deities derive their character from association with the moral institutions of society. Such a generalisation does not exclude Plurality of Causes when it comes to connecting particular deities or specific attributes with special institutions. Thus I do not suppose initiation ceremonies to have generated Mr. Lang’s group of deities as a whole. It is on the contrary most likely that many of their number “came otherwise.” (I cannot pretend, however, to have tried to work out the separate family histories of the worthies that figure in Mr. Lang’s long list.) Moreover, it would clearly be putting the principle of the Uniformity of Nature to sad misuse to argue that the Bull Roarer must, if ever, then always, attain to apotheosis; or that a moral institution, if ever, then always, must associate with itself, and reflect itself in, the attributes of whatever deities the instruments and accompaniments of its ritual are capable of suggesting to the human imagination. Thus it may be usual for savages to feel ‘awe’ at a storm; yet some tribes are said positively to enjoy a hurricane. Or again primitive moral institutions do certainly tend to rest on some sort of ‘supernaturalistic’ support; but there are, I fancy, religious initiations and civil initiations, religious marriages and civil marriages, at every stage of man’s advance. Hence, if it comes to a question of “logic,” I would venture to remind Mr. Lang of the shortcomings peculiar to the unsupported Method of Agreement. Anthropology is still at a very empirical stage; and the search for *media axiomata*—for limited connections of cause and effect—must therefore be suffered to coexist

with that divination of wider uniformities wherewith the Scientific Imagination is wont to cheer the labours of the humdrum researcher.

R. R. MARETT.

MEDICAL SUPERSTITION :—SNAKES.

(Vol. xi., p. 120.)

The snake's horn is known also in Cos, and is used for both the purposes specified in the Larnaca case, which shows that the plaintiff's statement that he used it experimentally was false. The second appears to be its chief virtue, and the directions for obtaining the horn, given me by an old woman who once had one, leave no doubt. You must find two snakes coupling and throw something over them. Then one of the snakes will give up the horn.

W. R. PATON.

MORE SNAKE-LORE.

The following items are cut from the *Daily Telegraph* :—

"The Merthyr Tydvil School Board recently closed the infant schools, owing to an epidemic of measles at Clwydyfagwr School. The mistress, Miss J. Starr, has been annoyed by the clamour of illiterate or superstitious parents who attribute the measles to the alleged malign influence of a snake recently killed on the mountain, and preserved in spirits of wine at the school for use in object lessons. So great has been the outcry that many people have offered their condolences to Miss Starr, who, happily, treats the absurd complaints as a joke."—(22 March, 1900.)

"At Eye Kettleby, in Leicestershire, during the course of some digging operations in a local garden, and at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the subsoil, an English ringed snake, but a pure albino, with eyes of a bright ruby red, was unearthed. According to the leading authorities albinism . . . has hitherto been entirely unknown in connection with reptiles. The recently captured specimen has come very appropriately into the possession of Mr. Castang, the well-known authority on albinos and hybrids."—(6 March, 1900.)

It seems then that the white snake which so often occurs in European folktale is not an entirely imaginary creature.

M. PEACOCK.

HORSES' HEADS, WEATHERCOCKS, ETC.

No one who has spent any length of time in Germany, especially the north-west, can fail to have remarked the carved horses' heads which ornament the gables of the peasants' houses. The practice is not confined to Germany, nor is it universal there. (For the distribution see Petersen, *Die Pferdeköpfe an den Bauernhäusern*,¹ where illustrations will be found, as also in *Zeits. der hist. Gesell., für die Prov. Posen*, 1899, p. 319.) The limits of this custom correspond in some cases at least with dialectical boundaries, and thus suggest a tribal origin. This may have been the case in other countries; in England they are not found outside Sussex, so far as I know, though I have seen it asserted that the practice also prevailed in Wales. Horses' heads are also found in Russia, the Tyrol, Rhaetia, and Spain.

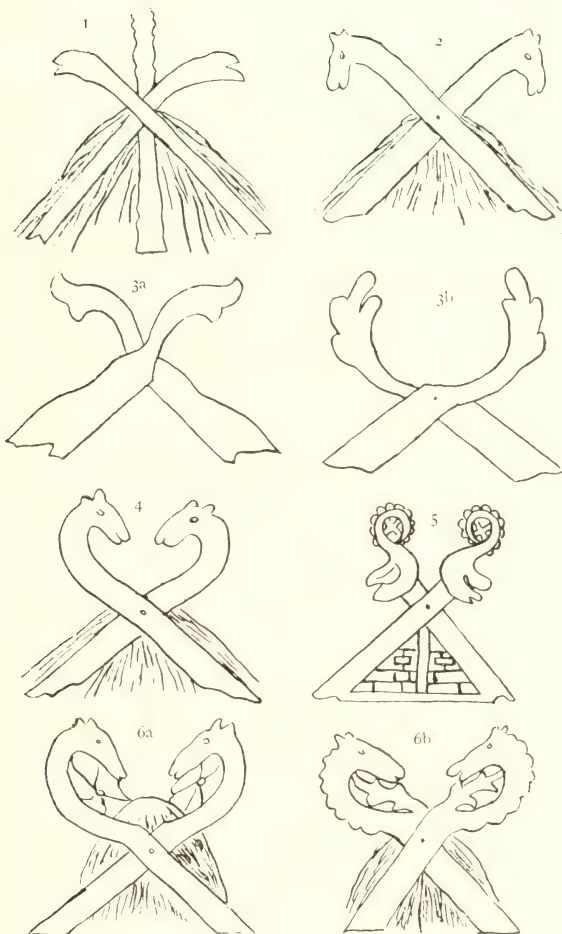
Horses are not, however, the only animals whose heads, either singly or in pairs, are thus used. In the Tyrol we find also hares' and unicorns' heads² (Heyl, *Volkssagen aus Tirol*, 156); in parts of Germany and Iceland, dragons' heads; in Hesse, stags' heads. We also find, either carved or real, cows, rams, wolves, dogs, badgers, donkeys, foxes, pike, swans, cocks, and probably others (Russwurm, *Eibofolke*, 2ter Teil, 281, 283, 402; Grimm, *D. M.*, pp. xxiii., 550, N. 190; Panzer, *Beitrag zur d. Myth.*, ii. 449; E. H. Meier, *Germ. Myth.*, 99 ff.; Rochholz, *D. Glaube u. Brauch*, ii., 106; MS. notes, &c.). The *Oscilla* (Georg., ii., 389) are probably another example. In *Beowulf* (82, 704) we find mentioned the horns fixed to the gable,³ a practice of which we have an example at Hornchurch, where leaden horns are fixed on the east of the church (cf. *Folklore J.*, i., 365). The intention may have been the same. The same custom seems to prevail in Borneo and in Celebes, but I do not know how it is there explained. Barth (*Reisen u. Entdeckungen in N. u. C. Afrika*, I., 376) mentions that eggs are put on the highest points of the huts to ensure the fertility of the family.

The hackles or little figures on the stacks are clearly another

¹ In *Jahrbücher für die Landeskunde der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg*, vol. iii., 1860.

² I suspect these are not real unicorns. At Parsan bei Vorsfelde, the horses' heads have knobs on the forehead. (*Globus*, lxvi.-iii.)

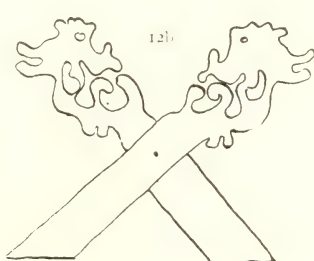
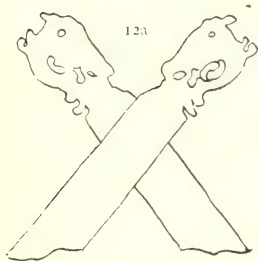
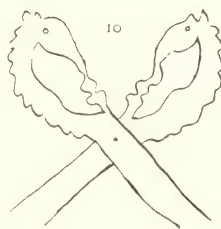
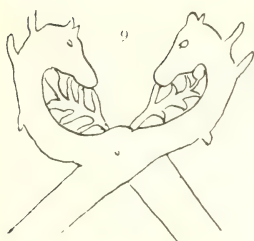
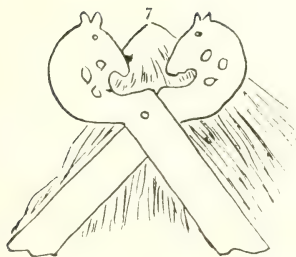
³ My friend Dr. Gough calls my attention to the affixing of Grendel's arm to the gable as a trophy. (*Beowulf*, 834 ff.)



GABLE ORNAMENTS.

(From Petersen's *Die Pferdeköpfe auf den Bauernhäusern*).

1. Westphalia.
2. Near Minden and west of the Weser as far as Bremen.
3. Rastorf, near Gartow.
4. Lüneburg Heath.
5. Im Alten Lande. (Swans with backs resting on their breasts)
6. Wilsdorf, near Harburg.



GABLE ORNAMENTS.

(From Petersen's *Die Pferdeköpfe auf den Bauernhäusern*).

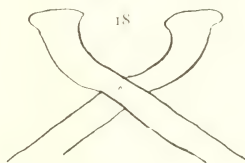
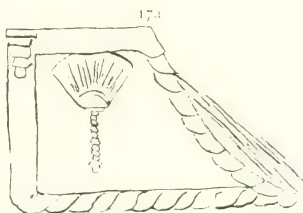
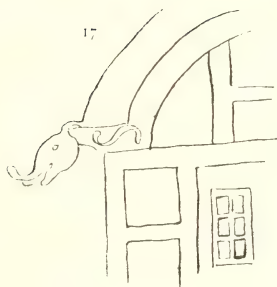
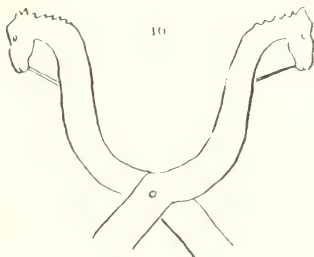
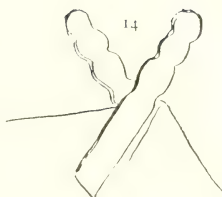
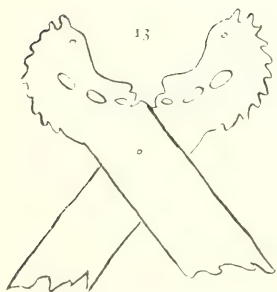
7. Moorberg.

8. Alten Werder.

9,10. Wilhelmsburg.

11. Billwerder.

12. Alten Gamm (Vierlande).



GABLE ORNAMENTS.

(From Petersen's *Die Pferdeköpfe auf den Bauernhäusern*.)

13. Sachsenwald.

14. Near Glückstadt.

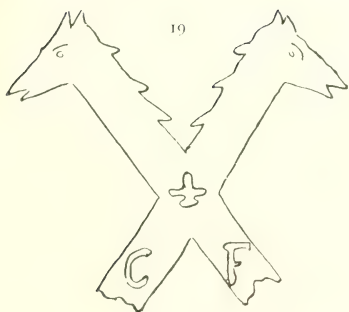
15. South Dithmarsch.

16. Central Holstein.

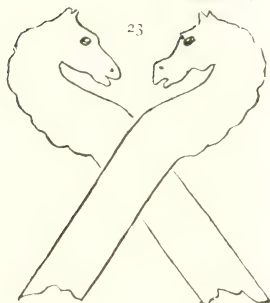
17. Angeln. (Explained by Petersen as a dragon's head.)

17a. A so-called "Donnerbesen," an ornament in the wall.

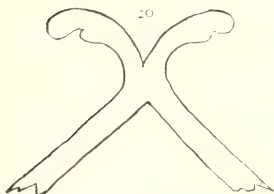
18. East Holstein.



19



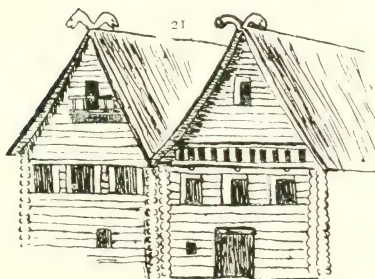
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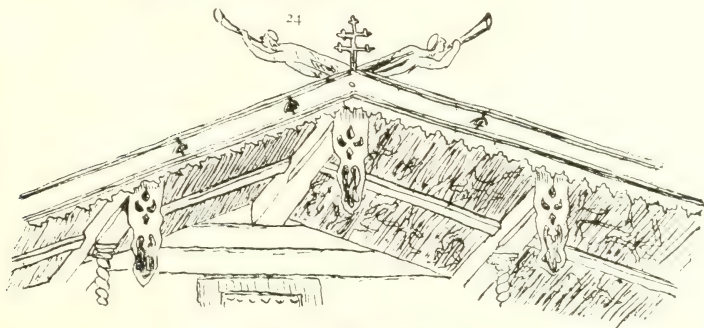
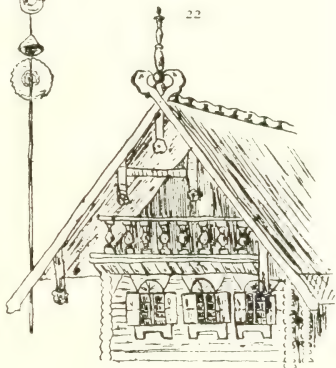
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24

GABLE ORNAMENTS.

(From Petersen's *Die Pferdeköpfe auf den Bauernhäusern*).

19. Güstrow.

20. Danzig.

21. South of the Volga on the Moscow Road.

22. Prov. Nijninoygorod.

23. Thüringen.

24. Upper Bavaria.

To face p. 322.

form of the same custom: perhaps also the practice of nailing owls, bats, &c., to the barn door; magical properties were attributed to them. Can we also connect the weathercock with it? In Kent the putting up of weathercocks seems to have been a festival custom. (Hone, *Every Day Book*, 188.)

We also find other animals as vanes; near Kiel, horses are common; they are also found in Holland; dragons are found in Scandinavia and parts of England; there is a fox at Reigate, a goose at Worms, a fish at Niedercleevez near Plön, at Boldre, at a place near Oswestry, &c. (MS. notes).

I should be exceedingly grateful for further information, accompanied, if possible, by sketches, as to the species of animals thus used and the distribution of the custom I have mentioned.

May I suggest that an illustration of the horses' heads in Sussex would be of interest, together with German and, if possible, other examples for comparison. I send copies of the illustrations in Petersen, kindly made for me by Miss Braitmaier. [See plates II.-V. ED.] It would hardly be difficult to obtain for the Society's Museum a representative collection of photographs or illustrations of gable heads and hackles, if not of the actual objects. I shall be glad to send examples from North Germany if the matter is thought worth taking up.

N. W. THOMAS.

Kiel.

[The Society would be very grateful for any such examples. The matter is quite worth investigation.—E. S. H.]

INSCRIPTION ON ROMAN LAMP.

I obtained yesterday here in Florence a very perfect and graceful Roman lamp of hard terra-cotta. From a label on it I learn that it was found at *Castrum Novum* (Giulianova), Abruzzo. On the bottom is the word *VIBULE* in distinct letters.

Am I mistaken in conjecturing that this may be an address, in the vocative, to *Vibilia*? According to Arnobius, the only writer of antiquity who mentions this goddess, *Vibilia* was a deity of the streets and night. When a man lost his way he invoked her (*Dict. Hist. Mitolog.*). Arnobius says of her (*Adv. Nationes*, iv., 7), "*Ab erroribus viarum Dea Vibilia liberat.*" Therefore her

name would be a very appropriate inscription for a lamp or street light. The Romans used dark lanterns. There is an old Roman picture of a Cupid with a dark lantern, reproduced in my *Etruscan-Roman Legends*. It is probable that the Romans placed a terracotta lamp in the lantern.

If any archæologist who is familiar with Roman lamps can inform me whether this name of Vibilia ever occurs on them in any form, or if any folklorist is acquainted with a spirit who guides the lost traveller, I would be very grateful to him for any information on the subject.

CHARLES GODFREY LELAND.

April 23rd, 1900.

The MS. of Arnobius reads *Upibilia*, so that Vibilia rests on conjecture only. Inscriptions on Roman lamps are dealt with in Birch's *Ancient Pottery*, part iv., chapter 2. They are generally trade marks—the maker's name, shop, factory, &c.; sometimes invocations, or acclamations; rarely anything else. Often they are shortened.

Thus VIBVLE may be—

- (1) Vocative of *Vibulus*; but no such name is known.
- (2) Part of the maker's name, (?) *Vibulanus* with blundering pronunciation.
- (3) Two abbreviated words if the last letter be misread:
VIBVLanus fecit.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

MISCELLANEA.

KOREAN BELIEFS.

Collected by JAS. S. GALE, (Canadian) Presbyterian Missionary, eleven years in Korea, author of *Korean-English Dictionary* (4to, 1,160 pp., printed in Yokohama, 1897).

COLLECTING items of folklore in a country like Korea is by no means easy. If I make inquiries of natives who are strangers to me, immediately their suspicions are aroused, and they will not answer more than to say that such a thing does not exist. To inquire for even the number of houses in a village, or what the land produces, much tact is needed, or you create bad feeling at once. The only way I know of is to keep one's ears open when natives are talking to one another, for much will be suggested by such a conversation, and it will often give a clue to questions that you can have honestly and correctly answered by your own particular friends. Customs I find to be, like language, a possession of which the owner is unconscious. For example: a Korean says something, and you ask him to repeat it. He is not able to repeat it exactly, for he is conscious only of the thought that was in his mind, not of the language used, so he will answer by expressing the thought more definitely in some other form, but as for an exact repetition, it will not be forthcoming. So with their customs, they follow them out in the same unconscious manner. Rouse them suddenly and ask them about the matter, and the likelihood is they will deny that such a thing exists at all, and yet they may be absolutely free from any dishonesty in the matter. We are unconscious of the air, for it exists everywhere. Custom is everywhere. The administration of justice is largely a matter of custom. The transfer of land is by custom only and not a matter of law. Marriage too is but custom. The government takes no cognizance of it. The Farthest East is wrapped up in custom, and the native is in many cases the last man to be aware of its existence.

NOTES ON HANANIM,¹ (The Great One, The One. God?) the Korean Great Spirit.—In Korea *Hana* means *one*, and *Nim* is *Lord*, *Master*, or *Chief*, so that the name literally translated means The *Ruling One*, The *Honourable One*, The *Great One*, The *One*.

He (*Hananim*) rewards the good (*soon*) with blessing (*pok*), and the evil (*ak*) with punishment (*wha*). This has no reference to judgment or a future life, but is simply confined to this world.

Here is a snatch from the song of a market minstrel known to all Koreans: "Pap chal mek-ki-nan, Ha-na-nim tok; Ot chao ip-ki-nan ch'o-kwon-eui tok." (Feeding us well is by favour of Hananim; Clothing us well is by favour of wife). This illustrates the idea, common to all Korea, that Hananim provides the rice.

A little pony boy once said, as I was riding his pony, "Hananim knows I have no coat, and so is letting the sun shine to warm me to-day." He had been bowing to the trees and expectorating before the hill shrines most devoutly, so I said, "Why do not you bow and thank Hananim then, since he is so good to you, instead of bowing to the trees?" But," says he, "Hananim is such a long way off; I can't see him, and so I worship the trees instead."

When a Korean sees a wrong done, one of his common sayings is, "*Hanali-mu-sim ha-nya?*" (Is Hananim indifferent to such?) He means that Hananim will certainly punish such injustice.

Another expression commonly heard is "*Ko-ma-o-sin Ha-nanim-i pi chu-sin-ta*" (Gracious Hananim gives the rain).

Koreans are given to strong language rather than to heavy blows, so a war of words is of frequent occurrence. This is one of the common expressions used at such a time: "*Ch'un ang ip-eul nom*" (A villain who will be punished by Ch'un, or Hananim). Ch'un is the Chinese name for Hananim.

The king offers sacrifice to Hananim for rain (*Ke-u-che*), using raw food, bathing, and performing other ceremonial cleansing before taking part.

When it lightens and thunders, Koreans say, "*Hananim-i o um-ha-si-ta*" (Hananim is stern, or awful, or dreadful); and they lay their pipes aside and sit reverently. Again, I hear an old saying that has come down from dim antiquity, "*Hananim-i*

¹ In all native transliterations the vowels have the French sound.

chi-kong-mu-sa ha-ta." (Hananim is eminently just and wholly impartial.)

As regards all spirits (*shin*) he is the One Great One.

His dwelling-place is above (*U-e ke-si-ta* = He dwells above), wherever that may mean, and in Hanal (Heaven), of which he is in possession. No mention is made of his beginning or end. He never marries, has no son; but a dual union seems to exist between him and the earth (*Da*), by which all life has come into being.

Hananim is creator of all details; the earth in rough form seems to have been developed by a kind of evolution, or of itself.

No reference is made to Hananim regarding a future life.

When flowers are seen to bloom and the earth to look green and beautiful, they say it is brought about by the (*Cho-wha-ong*) Ancient Creator—Hananim.

If Hananim desires to kill, he kills; if to save, he saves. When sacrifice has been made to all of the spirits and proves of no avail, the last cry is "*Hananim sal-yo chu-so-so*" (Save us, Hananim!)

"When Hananim gives rain and dew to the trees, he never forgets the little branches at the side."—A Korean saying.

Hananim mu-so-pul-leung ha-si-ta. (There is nothing that Hananim cannot do)—omnipotent.

Ha-na-nim-eui nun-i su-re pak-hoi tol teut hau-ta. (Hananim's eyes roll everywhere like cart wheels.)

Kwi-sin-to Ha-na-nim-eul mu-so-wö hau-ta. (The devils, too, fear Hananim.)

These are a few of the more common sayings regarding Hananim. They are all of ancient origin, and as far as is known have no connection with any ancient Christian source.

MOUNTAINS.—*Giants and Mountains.*—Korea has since ancient times been noted for its sages (*Myöngin*), its giants (*Chang-su*), and its dragon-horses (*Yong-ma*). When a giant appears, his dragon-horse is said also to come forth ready for him. The giant remains quiescent in a cave or under a rock until his country is in danger, and then he comes forth clad in armour, his horse also springing from the mountain. Such tales are common in all ancient Korean story-books (*Ko-tam-ch'aik*). The giant has power over wind and rain (*Pung-un cho-wha*). So even to-day the ignorant country people rest assured that when the time comes for the giant to arise from the mountain, all Westerners will have to fly or perish.

In the Japanese war of three hundred years ago it is said that 500 trained swordsmen were on their way to the capital of Korea. The flash of their swords alone was enough to kill, so it looked as though the whole nation might perish. But just as they landed near Fusan, there came forth from a mountain spur in front, the Old Man on the Green Bull (*Ch'ung-u No-in*), who had been born from the mountain to save his country. The Japanese pursued, knowing that he was an evil omen, but at first failed to overtake [him], until at last, instead of their capturing him, he entrapped them in a mountain gorge and there slaughtered them all.

Mountain Travel.—Last spring on my way to Seoul, when some 150 miles from here [Wönsan], I passed a magnificent mountain called the “crying fortress” (*U-nan-sung*). In speaking of it, the innkeeper told me that King *Kung-ye* had been defeated there in [918 A.D.], and that since then no one could ascend it who had not first fasted from meat and other strong food. He told me that the bowls and spoons of *Kung-ye* were still there. In order to see what answer he would make, I suggested his bringing some away, and that I would buy them. His reply was, anyone doing such a thing would be struck by the God of Thunder and killed at once.

Mountain Spirits.—A hunter I chanced to meet in the mountains a month or so ago, told me that he did all of his hunting at night. “But there are so many tigers; are you not afraid?” I asked. “No,” said he, “I am a retainer of the mountain-spirit (*San Yung-nim*), and so am safe;” or, “I wait attendance on the mountain-spirit, and so have no cause for fear.” His idea was that the spirit of the mountain controlled tigers and all other animals within its range. In many of the hill-shrines we find pictures of a man riding upon a tiger. It is really the mountain-spirit so represented, the tiger being the attendant.

Every village offers sacrifice to the mountain-spirit (*San-lung*). On an appointed day, after fasting and meditation, sacrificial officers are chosen and a beef slaughtered, and so offered with vegetable food to the spirit. When the sacrifice has been performed according to the spirit's liking, even the dogs of the village are safe from tigers and other wild beasts of the mountain. Tigers are called the dogs of the mountain-spirit.

At every hill pass there is on the side of the road a shrine to the spirit of the mountain. Prayers are offered before the shrine,

food, live chickens, money, stones, rags, &c., and passers usually bow and expectorate. On the sacred, or "shrine-tree" (*tang namu*), hang rags, that are meant as charms against evil (*ăk-mak-i*), while stones as offerings are heaped up beneath. Sometimes small images, in metal, of pigs, rats, elephants, &c., stand before the picture of the spirit.

Here is one of the prayers, in fact the one common petition, offered to the mountain spirit: "Kil so-e sō-nang-nim, kil-a-rai sō-nang-nim, t'oi" (expectorating) "nip-eu-sin tok to man-man ha-go-ni-wa sǎ-ro sǎ tok-eul nip-ō-chi-i-ta:" *i.e.* "Spirit of the road, spirit beneath the road, phew!" (giving a spit), "though your favours of the past have been unbounded, grant us some new favours for the future."

Beliefs about Mountains.—(These ideas are common to all Korea.) Mountains are all personified in Korea. They are dragons usually, and according to their formation, graves situated on them are propitious or unpropitious. It never does to build a house upon a moving (*nǎ-ryong*) or flying dragon (*sǎng-ryong*). If the personal influences of a hill-site be too strong, there will be many goblins, and the house will come to destruction.

On May 17th, 1899, I purchased a house-site on a hill within the walls of Seoul, and the people living below the hill told me that it was called the "Cow-feeding-her-young" mountain (*wa-u-hyung*). This is a propitious formation, and people are said to live long on it and prosper, so that they tell me I have a fair field for my future when I move up to Seoul.

There is always associated in the native's mind the idea of guardianship with the mountains. Seoul, the capital, has to its north its guardian mountain *Sam-kak-san*=the three-horned mountain. Shortly after building the former palace (from which the king escaped to the Russian Legation in February, 1896) it was found that there was a hostile mountain (*kwan-ak-san*) to the south, twenty miles distant, that set fire to the palace. Geomancers succeeded in protecting the dynasty against this mountain by placing two stone lions or fire-eaters (*hǎ-ta*) before the palace gates. These stone figures still stand to-day. Former capitals have always had their guardian mountains (*chu-san*). We find traces of this in Korea long antedating the Christian era. Graves too must have their guardian peaks (*chu-pong*) or the family will not prosper. A common saying in geomancy, "Dragons do not

see stones, men do not see dust (in the air), dogs do not see snow, tigers do not see paper."

People are born according to the formation of the hills on which their ancestors' graves are situated. A craggy geomantic formation brings forth warriors—a smooth, well-rounded formation brings forth scholars—a pointed formation brings forth writers—an opposing formation brings forth robbers—jade-peaks bring forth beautiful women. Of course all of this must be viewed and tested by a geomancer (*chi-kwan*), to know what forms are destined to appear.

Mr. Sin-Ki-Sun, the present prime minister of Korea, remarked recently that Korea could never be independent, because she had so many mountains. "Mountains," said he, "depending as they do on each other, denote dependence." Mountains are said to have their pot of silver or pot of gold concealed, and sacrifice is offered diligently to obtain a knowledge of their whereabouts. The mountain spirit, in answer to prayer and sacrifice, makes known in a dream the place where the pot is buried. This may be explained, however, by the fact that during the invasion of the Japanese, three hundred years ago, much money was buried to prevent its being carried off by the invaders, and this being discovered from time to time, may have given rise to the superstition that each hill has its treasury of gold and silver.

I have never been able to fully understand just what the Korean means by currents, or veins of influence, that he invariably connects with the mountains. On the proper circulation of these influences all prosperity depends. April 27th, 1899, I arrived in a town some 117 miles from Wonsan and 60 miles from Seoul. I saw in the neighbourhood many huge flat stones placed on three smaller ones that were standing on edge. I crossed the fields to one of these, and found it large enough to dance a quadrille on. I had no measuring line, but stepping it, found the stone to be in the neighbourhood of 18 feet square by 2 feet thick. It was raised from the ground some 3 feet, and the propping stones underneath occupied a space of some 8 feet square. They are called *Koi-in-tol* = propped up stone. On inquiry as to their meaning, I was told that the Japanese, three hundred years ago, discovered that this district in Korea had produced many noted warriors and generals, due of course to the current influence of the mountains. Their object now was to cut off

these influences as soon as possible. This they accomplished by placing these huge propped-up stones on the back of the current. Another story, giving the same reason, attributes it to the Manchus of a hundred years later. And I am inclined to believe the latter story. In the first place, the stones are too great for the Japanese to handle ; in the second place, the Japanese have never paid much attention to mountain influences. Again, the inborn hatred of the Korean for the Japanese would incline him to shift the odium for such a miserable deed from the Chinese to the Japanese. There are several hundred of these monsters in Kangwön province, so I am told. I myself have seen twenty and more.

I asked the old inn-keeper why he did not roll them over, set the current free, and get back the influence, but he said : "Alas ! it is too late." Koreans have a peculiar fatalism in their views of mountain influence. They feel that to disturb the regular course of fate would be worse for them than losing the influence.

ISLANDS.—There is a peculiar superstition, common to all Korea, with regard to a supposed island in the Yellow Sea, called *Nam Chosen* (South Korea). They attribute to this place much of the supernatural, and yet people come from it, they say, to trade at Mok-p'o, a port recently opened to foreigners, in Chulla province (S.W. Korea). There is no such place, and yet the story of it is much more common to the natives than that of any real island in the vicinity.

LAKE-SPIRITS AND DRAGONS.—Usually there is no spirit in a pool apart from those who may have fallen in and been drowned in it. Immediately on such occurrence, the spirit of the dead becomes the spirit of the pool, imprisoned, in fact, and cannot leave until some one else drowns and takes its place. Also those who die by tigers become tiger-spirits, and are so possessed until the tiger devours some one else, and so lets the spirit of the first victim free.

In lakes there are dragons (*Yong*), and monsters less powerful than dragons, called *Kang-ch'ulli*. Dragons change from pool to pool, or "go up" (*ol-la ka-ta*), as the native says. I have seen one of the most famous pools of Korea, situated some sixty miles north of Seoul, near Song-do, and it was dark, and deep, and silent ; though only some thirty feet wide, it was beyond the eye to fathom, though the water was exceedingly clear. These dragons

are spoken of as white (*pǎk yong*), black (*heuk yong*), yellow (*whang yong*), and blue (*ch'ung yong*).

The serpent is almost synonymous with the dragon. Fish, too, are associated with the same, for the carp may in time become the fish-dragon (*ö yong*). It is dangerous for fishermen to venture too near a dragon-lake, as the snake with a sudden sweep of the tail may hurl them into its depths.

All flesh cannot arrive at the dragon-stage. A snake when it spends a thousand years in the mountains and a thousand years in the water, "following closely the doctrine" (*to-lak-ta*)—(just what this consists in, no one can tell me, but the saying exists; they frequently use the same in reference to disciples of Confucius)—eventually becomes a dragon.

As far as I can understand, water-spouts seen at sea are taken for dragons, and are the source of most dragon-beliefs.

Wells, too, have their dragons, and rice is thrown in to propitiate them on special occasions, as on the 15th of the 1st moon, or when a child is born. Here, also, as in a lake, if one is drowned the spirit of the dead takes possession of the well.

RIVERS AND STREAMS.—There are spirits, too, about rivers, that take various shapes, commonly that of a woman washing clothes in the moonlight. Sometimes it catches those who fish and drags them under deep water. Sacrifice is offered and food is thrown into the river to propitiate the spirit.

A Boatman's Prayer: "Mul-a-ssi kin-tǎ so-nang-nim hang-sun chal hage-hayö chu-so-so." (Woman of the waters and prince of serpents, give us a favourable voyage.)

Once, in a six-days' voyage by junk along the north shore of the Yellow Sea, in the year 1889, we were overtaken by rough weather, when immediately the sailors left caring for the junk and prepared a sacrifice of rice and fish, which, after prayer, they poured overboard in order to propitiate the sea-spirit.

JAS. S. GALE.

Wönsan, Korea, *June 29th*, 1899.

FOLKTALES FROM THE ÆGEAN.

Collected by W. R. PATON, Ph.D.

(Continued from vol. xi., p. 119.)

VIII. *The Bad Bishop.*

(Told me in the convent of Kalloní, Lesbos, by a very clever and courteous old lady of about seventy-five, a member of that sisterhood, and an aunt of my friend, Mrs. Papps, of Kalloní. She had heard the story in her earlier years at Kassabá, Asia Minor. I am sorry that I cannot give her name at present. She told me this and other stories with infinitely more humour than I am capable of reproducing.—W. R. P.)

There was once a man who had a very pretty wife. When she went to church the bishop used to wave his censer towards her three times instead of once, and the priest and the deacon did the same.

She told her husband, and he said to her: "Next time, whisper to them that you want them to come and call on you. Tell the bishop to come at two, the deacon at three, and the priest at four o'clock at night." The wife did as her husband bade her, and the bishop arrived at two o'clock. She entertained him for an hour, and then there was a knock at the door. "Quick, get into the *ampari*,¹" said she, "it is my husband," and the bishop scuttled in. She received the deacon and entertained him too, and at four o'clock there came tap, tap, tap at the door. "It is my husband," said she, "get into the *ampari* as quick as you can," and in he went, and groped about and caught hold of the bishop by the beard, and said to himself: "What on earth is this? Do they keep goats here?" but dared not utter a word. She went and opened the door and received the priest, and they sat talking, but all of a sudden there was tap, tap, tap at the door again; and this time it was her husband. She shoved the priest, too, into the *ampari*, and let her husband in. "I want to whitewash the ceiling," he said. "Get me some boiling water." And when he had it, he poured it into the *ampari*; and bishop, priest, and deacon were scalded to death.

¹ *Ἀμπάρι*, from Turkish and Persian *anbar*, store; the dark store-room under the elevated sleeping-platform of a one-roomed house.

Then the husband thought, "How can I dispose of them?" Suddenly an idea struck him. He pulled the bishop out, and ran with him to a tavern kept by one Yannis, and shouted: "Yanni, Yanni, I want a bottle of wine at once," and set the bishop up against the door and took to his heels. The keeper of the tavern came and opened the door to serve his customer; and in fell the bishop, dead as a door-nail. "Dear me," said poor Yannis, "this is awkward; I will put him away and try to hush it up." The husband went back and fetched the deacon, and set him, too, against the tavern door and called for wine; and when Yannis opened the door, in fell the deacon, stark and stiff. He stowed him away with the bishop; likewise the priest, when he, too, fell in dead. "Lord, what shall I do?" said Yannis. "I must get rid of them somehow." And he bethought him of a silly fellow who was fond of a drink, and went and woke him up and said: "Come and drink a bottle of wine; I've got a dead priest here, and I want you to throw him into the sea for me." The fool was only too glad. He drank his bottle, and took the priest and pitched him into the sea and came back. "You can't have thrown him far enough out," said Yannis; "here he is back again," and showed him the dead deacon. "Have another bottle, and throw him further." The fool drank his wine, and said: "You bet I'll throw him where he can't come back." He marched off with the deacon on his back, and took a boat and threw him into deep water, and then returned to the tavern. "He must be put deeper still," said Yannis, pointing to the bishop; "for here he is back again. Never mind, have another bottle and take him well out to sea." The fool drank his bottle, and set off with the bishop on his back. This time he rowed quite far out and dropped the bishop overboard, and came back. As he was returning he met a priest who was carrying the host to a dying man, and, when he saw him, he said: "Oh, you've come back again, have you? I'll settle you this time," and took up a stone and threw it at the priest's head and killed him.

[“Next day,” said the old nun who told me this story, “he saw another bishop come riding into the town on a white donkey, and he pitched a stone at him and killed him too.” But this is an obvious amplification.]

IX. *Kasidlako.*

(Cassabá: from the same source as No. VIII.)

There was once upon a time a woman who had no children. One day she heard a man calling in the street "Big-belly apples," and she bought one, but instead of eating it at once, put it on the table. Her husband came and saw it, and ate it, and became pregnant in his thigh. He thought it was a boil, and when it grew very big he started off to find the doctor. On his way he had to pass through a thicket, and a briar scratched the place, and out fell the child. He did not notice this, but felt better at once, and went back and told his wife, "No need for a doctor, the boil has burst, and I am all right."

The eagle of God saw the baby (which was a girl), and picked her up, and carried her to its nest on a tall cypress-tree, and there brought her up till she was twelve years old.

Beneath the cypress-tree was a fountain, and there the prince happened to stop one day to water his horse. As the horse was going to drink, the girl peeped out from the nest, and the horse shied at her shadow, and the prince looked up and caught sight of her, and fell in love with her. He went home and took to his bed, and sent a crier to bid all the women of the town bring him soup to strengthen him. Among them came an old woman with her soup in a chipped basin, and her he chose to tell the secret of his sickness to. He implored her to find means to bring his love down from the tree. The old woman asked him to give her a caldron and a washing-trough and some sticks, and she bandaged her eyes and pretended to be blind, and went to the fountain to wash clothes. She lit the fire and put the caldron on upside down, and poured the water that she drew from the fountain into it, or rather on it. The girl was looking at her from the tree and could not help saying, "What in the world are you doing? You will put the fire out." But the old woman said, "Dear me, dear me, I am blind and can't see. Won't you come and put things right?" and the girl slid down the tree and set the caldron straight. At that moment the prince, who was in hiding, ran out and caught her, and carried her home and made her his wife.

A little while after their marriage the prince had to go to war, and when he was gone his mother took her daughter-in-law and

shaved her head, and dressed her as a boy, and sent her to feed geese. The other boys called the goose-herd "Kasidiako" (*Scurfy*). When the prince came home his mother told him that his wife had died. The prince was very sorry. To dispel his grief he used to sit at his window and listen to the boys of the town singing songs to each other, for just outside were some logs of wood on which they used to sit of an evening. One day Kasidiako came too, and when all the boys had sung they asked him for a song, and he sang this:

An apple was I,
 An old wife did me buy ;
 An old man did eat me,
 I swelled in his thigh.
 I was born in the brambles ;
 An eagle did fly,
 And took me, and took me
 To his eyry on high.
 I descended deceived
 By an old woman sly ;
 A king then secured me
 For his own serai ;
 His mother did beat me,
 And forced me to fly ;
 Kak-kak-kak, kik-kik-kik,
 Now a goose-girl am I.

Then the prince knew it was his wife and went down and claimed her.

X. *The Clever Princess.*

(Mytilene : told by Mersini, see No. V.)

There were two kings in the same city, and the one had three daughters and the other had three sons. One day when he who had the three daughters went to the café, the other king said to him, "Good morrow, Sir King, who hath sows but no boars." He went home very glum, and his eldest daughter said, "What are you looking so thoughtful about?" "Oh, nothing," said he. "But there must be something," she said. "Well, to tell you the truth, the other king said to me in the café, 'Good morrow, Sir King, who hath sows but no boars.'" "Is that all?" said she. "I thought at least you were thinking about getting me a new dress," and she gave her father one in the mouth, and knocked

out one of his teeth. Next day the other king saluted him as before, and he came back looking as dismal as could be, and his second daughter asked him, "Why, whatever is the matter?" "Oh, nothing," said he. "But you must tell me," said she; "I know you have something on your mind." "It is that other king," he said, "who, when I came to the café, said, 'Good morrow, Sir King, who hath sows and no boars.'" "Is that all?" said she; "I thought you were thinking of finding me a husband," and she hit him on the face and knocked out another tooth.

Next day the other king again saluted him in the same way, and he came home looking the picture of sadness, and his youngest daughter asked him, "What makes you so sad?" "Nothing at all," said he, "I am not a bit sad." "But I know," said she, "you are thinking of something." "No," said he, "and if I were, I would not tell you. I've had two teeth knocked out through telling your sisters, and I don't want to lose another." When she promised not to hurt him, he at length told her what it was, and she said, "Next time you go to the café, and the king says this to you, answer him back and say, 'Good morrow, Sir King, who hath boars and no sows, and my youngest daughter will rub three bushels of salt into your youngest son's forehead without his noticing it.'"

When, next day, the other king received this reply, it was his turn to be melancholy, and his eldest son asked him what was the matter. At first the father pretended it was nothing, but at length he answered, "Why, what do you think? To-day, when I wished that other king good morrow, and said he had only sows and no boars, he answered me back and said, 'Good morrow, Sir King, who hath boars and no sows, and my youngest daughter will rub three bushels of salt into your youngest son's forehead without his noticing it.'" "Oh," said the son, "that's all, is it? I thought you were thinking about getting me a wife," and he hit his father in the face and knocked out one of his teeth.

Next day the king received the same answer from the other king, and when his second son questioned him as to his long face he told him the reason. "That's all, is it?" said the second son; "I thought at least you were thinking about getting me a new suit of clothes," and he knocked out another of his father's teeth.

On the third day the king had the same answer to his saluta-

tion, and his youngest son made him tell him what was troubling him so, and, when he had heard it, said, "I should like to marry that youngest daughter," and so his father went and proposed for her, and the match was made.

The prince, after they were married, would have nothing to do with his wife, because she wouldn't tell him what the bushels of salt meant. One day he said, "I am going off to Soultado."¹ "Very well," said his wife, and when he was gone she took ship and got there before him. She took a house on the quay and was looking out of the window when her husband arrived. He did not know her, but thought she was a very nice-looking girl, and bowed to her. She returned his salute, and he sent up and asked if he might come and stay with her. "I shall be most pleased," she answered, and he remained with her a year, and she bore him a child whom he called Soultado. When he said he was leaving, she asked him what token he would give his son, and he gave his dagger. She took ship back at once and was waiting to receive her husband when he came home. "Well," he said, "won't you tell me now what the three bushels of salt are?"

"I knew the reason on a time,
But now away 'tis flown.
Come eat and drink, O father mine,
And sit upon your throne.

I have rubbed one of them in, and God has got the two others in his keeping," said she. Then the prince said he was off to Aleppo, and she, as before, took ship and was settled in a house on the quay by the time he arrived. It happened as before, and she bore him a son whom he called Halepi. When he was going away she asked him to give the child a token, and he gave his ring. She reached home before him again, and when he asked her to tell him about the bushels of salt she said the same verses, and, "I have rubbed two in, and God has the other in store for you." "All right," said he, "I am off to Babylon."

When he got to Babylon she had again outstripped him, and was living on the quay. She looked out of her window, and he saw her and went to stay with her, and she bore him a girl-child whom they called Babylonitsa, and he gave her a cavàdi (kind of dress) as a token. When he got home and found his wife

¹ Where is this seaport?—W. R. P.

waiting for him as usual, he asked her, "Won't you tell me now about the three bushels of salt?"

"I've rubbed them all in now," said she. Then the husband said, "I am going to be married again," and he threw the princess into a hole, and off he went. Her three children were being reared by her mother. She sent for them and made Soutado wear the dagger, and Halepi the ring, and little Babylonitsa her cavàdi, and she told them to go to the house where the wedding-feast was in progress and to march up-stairs, and when they were outside the banqueting room, Soutado was to say, "Take care, Halepi, that Babylonitsa does not spoil her cavàdi, or our mother will be angry." So they did, and when the prince heard this he pricked up his ears and went out to see what children they were. Then he saw the tokens, and went straight off back to his wife with the children, and the other bride and the wedding-guests are going on dancing still, waiting for him to come back.

XI. *The Laurel Girl.*

(Mytilene : told by Mersini.)

Once there was a woman who had no children. One day she saw some boys carrying laurel boughs, and she said, "Ah, that God would send me a child, were it but a laurel-berry." She conceived, and in due time was delivered of a laurel-berry. She kept her bed for two or three days, but then she said to herself, "What is the use of lying here all for the sake of a laurel-berry, I will get up and go to church." Before she went she told her servant to look well after the baby, and put it to sleep if it cried. The servant went into her mistress's room, but no baby could she see. She made the bed and shook the bed-clothes out of the window, and the laurel-berry fell into the street. A gardener was passing by collecting the sweepings, and he swept up the laurel-berry. The poor mother was very disconsolate when she came home and found out what had happened, but there was nothing to be done.

Next morning, when the gardener woke up, he saw to his astonishment a beautiful laurel-tree growing in the place where he had thrown the sweepings.

Now let us leave him, and go to three young men who had made a plan of coming to picnic in the garden. They brought a lamb with them, and lighting a fire near the laurel, set it on to boil, and

told the gardener to put the salt in and keep an eye on the pot while they went away to amuse themselves. The gardener, having seen that all was right, went away to water his garden, when the laurel opened and out came a girl. She took three large handfuls of salt, which she threw into the pot, and then went back into the laurel. When the three young men came back and found their meat so salt that they could not eat it, they were very angry with the gardener, but he assured them he had put just the right amount of salt in. They went away and got another lamb and set it on to cook. This time the gardener said, "Salt it yourselves, and I will come away with you, that you may be sure I am not to blame." When the meat had had time to cook, they came back, but this time it was still saltier. The two eldest went away in disgust, but the youngest got another lamb for himself and set it on to cook, and hid himself in a bush. In a little while he heard a voice inside the laurel saying, "Open, laurel, for the girl to come out," and the laurel opened, and out stepped a beautiful girl. He ran quickly, and caught and kissed her. Then she said, "Open, laurel, for the girl to go in," but the laurel answered :

" Kissed and cuddled may not win,
Ever to the laurel in,"

and he took her home with him.

Now, he was engaged to be married, and his marriage was to be next day. When the laurel-maiden lay down at night and went to sleep, he went out and picked a basketful of roses and put it by her side, and started off to his bride's house, which was in a village a few miles off. The girl when she woke up put out her arms hoping to clasp her lover, but instead found only the basket of roses.

" O roses white, O roses red, and O my basil, you !
Why did ye gar me go to sleep, and lose my bonny doo ? "

she said, and started off to find him. (She changes clothes with a monk and goes to the marriage, and runs off with the young man at night.)

XII. *The Gorgon*¹ (Calymnos).

There was once a queen who had a son and a daughter. Her

¹ The word "gorgona" in common parlance means a mermaid. Hence, I presume, the name of the Italian island Gorgona, near Leghorn. The gorgon in this story has nothing marine about her.

daughter had just given birth to a girl. Two days after its birth the shepherds came and said that all their milk was drunk up at night; the next day the grooms came and said that each night one of the horses in the stalls was devoured by a beast that came at midnight, as they knew by the terrified neighing of the horses they heard at that hour in the stable, but they were afraid to go and see what the beast was. Next night the queen's son went to watch in the stable, and at midnight the horses began to neigh and plunge, and a gorgon came in and fastened on one of them. The prince shot an arrow at it and cut off its little finger. Taking the finger with him, he went home. Next day the baby would not cease crying, and the doctors and nurses could not tell what was the matter with it until they found its little finger was missing. The prince then knew that the baby was a gorgon, and, showing his sister the finger, bade her kill her child, for otherwise it would eat up everybody and everything in the country. If she refused, he said he would go away to a strange land. His sister said she would not kill her child; so, taking his mother with him, he left his home. As night began to fall, they came to a marble slab with a ring attached to it. They went down forty steps and found themselves in an ogre's house. "Good day, uncle," said the prince. "Well met, young buck," said the ogre, "what do you want here?" "Don't ask," said the prince, "our woes are many; we beg for shelter for the night." The ogre consented, and they remained there that night. Next day the prince went out to shoot, and while he was away the mother and the ogre made up to each other, and the queen asked the ogre to marry her. "That can never be," said the ogre, "as long as your son is alive. You must lie down and pretend to be ill, and when he comes back bid him fetch you the milk of the hind that eats men." So when the prince came back and brought his mother the birds he had shot for her to cook them, he found her simulating great pain. "I am very ill, my son," she said, "and this stupid old ogre can do nothing to cure me, and now he tells me I shall die unless I can drink the wild hind's milk, but I would rather die than let you go and risk being eaten." "I go," said the prince, and saddled his horse and started off. "If he doesn't come back in three days," said the ogre, "we shall know he is dead." In the evening the prince came to a house where dwelt a beautiful girl who was a fairy. He dismounted and knocked, and was invited in. The

fairy asked him how he came there, where no mortal had ever come, and he told her his errand. She tried to persuade him to go back, for that his mother desired to compass his death, but the prince would not listen to this. So she gave him dinner and asked him to stay the night, and in the morning she told him: "When you come to the cave where the hind dwells, if her eyes are open, go and milk her, and take her two fawns away and bring them to me, but if her eyes are shut, beware." The prince rode on till he came to the cave, and there was the hind with her eyes wide open. He milked her and brought her fawns back to the fairy, who invited him to spend this night too in her house. In the night she took the hind's milk and substituted for it the horse's urine. The prince came back to the ogre's house on the third evening, and when his mother and her paramour saw him, fancy their surprise. But the queen drank what she fancied to be the hind's milk, and, saying she felt better, got up. Next day when the prince went out shooting, the ogre said to the queen: "You must say you are ill again and beg him to get you the water-melon of life." So she did, again telling her son that she would die if she had not this water-melon, but begging him not to risk his life. Away went the prince on his errand, and dismounted again at the house of the fairy, who, after warning him as before, and trying to turn him back, bade him stay the night. In the morning she told him, "Ride on till you come to a great hill. Underneath it is a field full of water-melons. They will all call out, 'Pick me, pick me,' but you must not answer, or else you will be changed into a water-melon yourself. You must go straight on and pick the big white water-melon in the middle of the field." The prince followed her directions and came back to spend the night at the fairy's house. While he was asleep she changed the water-melon of life for an ordinary one, which he took back to his mother, arriving again on the evening of the third day from his departure. The queen ate the water-melon, and again said she felt better. "Now," said the ogre, "there is nothing left but to send him for the water of life." So the queen got ill again and told her son, "This old duffer of an ogre can't find the right medicine. Now he tells me I must drink the water of life, but you must not go for it, my dear boy, it is so very dangerous." "Well," said the son, "as I have got you the other things I suppose I can get you this," and started to find it. This time the fairy, who was

still unable to persuade him that his mother was plotting against his life, told him in the morning, "The water of life is behind a rock which keeps opening and shutting; be as quick as you can, otherwise the rock will shut on you." The prince did as he was bid, and he just managed to ride out before the rock shut, nipping off his horse's tail. At night the fairy substituted wine for the water of life and kept this herself. This time she kept the prince two nights with her, so that his mother and the ogre might think he was dead.

When he returned, they were more disgusted than ever at seeing him, but his mother drank the water and pretended to be better. The ogre now asked her to find out from her son in what his strength lay. She asked him, and he first told her it was in a broom. "Take the broom," said the ogre, "and smoke it with incense, and then we shall see if he is telling the truth." When the son saw her incensing the broom he began to laugh at her, and said, "That is not my strength, it is in the door." When he found her incensing the door he laughed at her again, and then she coaxed him into telling her that his strength was a gold hair in his head.

One day, by the wicked ogre's advice, she begged her son to come and sit with his head on her lap and let her louse him. As he sat so he fell asleep, and she found and cut off the gold hair, and they killed and ate him.

The fawns, who were still with the fairy, smelt his flesh, and began to roar. The fairy, who knew what had happened, bade them go and collect the bones, and bring them to her; but on no account were they to eat any of their master's flesh if the ogre offered it to them. They went and gathered together all the bones except the little finger, which they could not find. The fairy sent them to look for it, and they found it under the stairs. She then put all the bones together; out of the hind's milk she made the flesh, and out of the water-melon she made the blood, and then she poured the water of life on the body, and the prince was alive again; and, rubbing his eyes, he said, "Lightly I fell asleep, and heavily I wake up." The fairy told him what had happened, and he went back and killed his mother and the ogre, and the fawns gobbled them up. Now the fairy wanted the prince to marry her; but he said, "I must first go to my own country to see how they fare there." The fairy tried to dissuade him, but

in vain. She then gave him three nuts, and told him to plant them on his road, and she told him if things went very wrong with him to whistle for the fawns. When he came to his country he found the gorgon had eaten everything—men, beasts, and trees. There was just one tree left, and under it was a hut. He went straight for the hut, and outside it he found the gorgon sitting. “Ah, what a nice morsel,” said she; “I have eaten everything here except a mouse that I can’t catch. I will just go to the well and get water to boil you in; and to let me know you are still here, keep on ringing this bell till I come back;” and she put a bell-rope in his hand. The moment she had left, out of a hole crept the mouse, and said to him, “Give me the rope and run for your life.” He ran for his sins, and the mouse went on ringing the bell until the gorgon came back, and then crept into its hole. When the gorgon found her prey gone, she started off to chase him, and was just at his heels when he reached the nut-trees, which had grown in the meantime from his nuts. He clambered up the first, and the gorgon began to eat the tree, and he sprang to the second, and so to the third; and then he bethought him of the fawns, and whistled, and they came roaring, and gobbled up the gobbling gorgon. Then the mouse wanted to be rewarded for saving his life; but he said, “No, I have saved yours.” Then he went back and was married to the fairy, and I was not there to see it, and don’t you believe it.

DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN WILTSHIRE.

By MISS L. A. LAW. Edited with notes by W. CROOKE.

The following notes on folk-beliefs are a record of recollections in a remote Wiltshire village, of which the writer’s father was Rector between thirty and forty years ago.

Death Omens.—Numerous omens were believed to foretell death. When a tallow candle guttered over and the tallow formed the figure of a shroud, it was believed that a death would soon occur in the family. The same result follows from bringing into a house the caterpillar of the death’s-head hawk-moth.

Rats and Mice Portents of Death.—Some people say that they are warned when a person who is ill is about to die by the inroad of rats and mice into the house, where they appear in great numbers.

In a house where the master died, I was told that the kitchen was overrun by rats, which ran up and down the walls.¹

Watching in Church Porch for Wraiths of those about to die.—It was believed that if one stood in the church porch on the last night of the year he would see the shadows of those among his friends and relations who were doomed to die during the coming year. If you saw your own wraith you were sure to die.²

Charm to procure an Easy Death.—My father was once visiting a dying farmer. As he came into the lower room he saw a curious old knife on his hob. He took it up to look at it and then placed it on the table. When he went up-stairs the sick man asked, "Is the knife on the hob?" A relative went down, and finding it on the table, immediately put it back, and my father, on making inquiries, was told that if the knife were removed the sick man would "die hard."³

Appearance of Face of the Dead indicates their Future State.—The appearance of the face of the dead was considered to be an indication of the state of the departed soul. A calm, peaceful expression was always noted by the survivors as a hopeful sign. A nurse told me that she always observed on the faces of those who had died in a state of sin a look of pain or an evil sneer.

Wool placed in Shepherd's Coffin.—When a shepherd died it used to be the custom to put a lock of wool into his coffin, the idea being that at the Judgment Day he could thus prove his vocation, which prevented him from being a regular attendant in church. The custom has now become almost obsolete, but not long ago I

¹ This belief is also reported from Devon. If mice run over a sick person's bed at night they portend death (4th Ser. *Notes and Queries*, ix., 134 seq.). It is also found in Cornwall and in Russia (*ibid.*, ix., 257, 402). Can this be connected with the belief that the little Red Mouse represents the separable soul? (5th Ser. *Notes and Queries*, i., 156; 7th Ser., xii., 465; 8th Ser., i., 91, 244, 500). "In German superstition, the souls of the dead assume the forms of mice, and when the head of a house dies, it is said that even the mice of the house abandon it. In general, every apparition of mice is considered a funeral presage. It is on this account that the funeral of St. Gertrude was represented surrounded by mice." (De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, ii., 67.)

² There are two days on which visions of this kind may be seen: St. Mark's Eve (April 25th) (Brand, *Observations*, i., 192; 1st Ser. *Notes and Queries*, iv., 470; vi. 71, quoting a reference in Collins, "Ode to Fear"). The other was the Eve of the Feast of St. John Baptist (Brand, *ibid.*, i., 331; iii., 236).

³ This belief is new to me. Can the knife here represent the Life Index, which, if kept warm and comfortable, the patient will die quietly?

heard of a case in which a lock of wool was placed in the coffin of a shearer.

Superstition about Amputation.—A woman in our parish had her leg amputated, and got a little coffin made for it. She caused it to be buried in the churchyard and left strict injunctions that when she died she was to be interred close to it. "She would have to be sharp," the people said, "in claiming her leg at the Day of Judgment, lest someone else, maimed in the same way, should seize it before her."

Dread of Corpses.—One of the most common beliefs of the poor people in the fifties and sixties was the fear of the corpse, the dread of ghosts, and the unwillingness to enter graveyards at night. A carrier employed to convey the corpse of a man who had died suddenly to his home returned in a state of nervous shock from which he never recovered. "When I came to Squire A.'s wood where them trees darkened over," he began to tremble, and got back only with difficulty. The ghost of this corpse walked long after.

The fear of the dead is particularly shown in the habit of removing a dying person from the house. So with the corpse. A gentleman in Wiltshire had the body of his late wife removed into the coach-house.

Rash Intruder at a Grave caught by a Demon.—A man once boasted of his courage, and was challenged to go into a churchyard at night and stick a knife into a grave. When he failed to return his friends went in search of him, and found him lying hopelessly mad on the grave. Somehow or other his coat got caught, and he fancied that he was seized by evil spirits, and was frightened out of his mind.²

Enemies not to be buried close together.—People are very careful

¹ Carelessness about the disposal of any severed part involves danger to the body (Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii., 132). All through the East amputation is dreaded lest a person so mutilated should turn into a malignant ghost (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore*, i., 280). Hence hanging or strangulation is in Japan regarded as a less severe form of punishment than decapitation (Aston, *Nihongi*, i., 234). The prejudice against mutilation is illustrated by the refusal of the Jaina priests to eat with Rāja Vishnuvardhana, because he had lost a finger (Rice, *Mysore*, i., 338).

² As told in the south of Ireland, with names and date particularly stated, the man is challenged to go into a vault and drive a nail into a coffin. He does so, and accidentally nails down the tail of his own coat, on which he loses his senses.

not to bury a deceased relation near one who was his enemy in life. "They would fight in their graves," they think.¹

Fairies and Giants.—These people have no traditions of fairies or giants.

Ghosts.—They vouch for the occasional appearance of a ghost, but most of the *revenants*, they say, were laid by a clergyman some years ago.

Ghost in a Golden Corslet.—At Silbury Hill there is a tradition that a man in golden armour on horseback is buried.²

Headless Ghost.—On Roundway Down a headless ghost is said to walk. Some years ago a shepherd declared that he met it, that it walked some distance by his side, and then vanished. The gentleman to whom he told the story asked why he did not speak to the ghost. "I was afraid," he replied, "for if I hadn't spoken proper to him he'd a tore 'un to pieces." A barrow is near the place, which was excavated some time ago, when a skeleton (not headless) was found. Since the barrow was opened the ghost has ceased to walk.³

Attack of Water Demon on a Sabbath-breaker.—One of our workmen one Sunday went out fishing. He soon came back with a look of fear on his face and told my brother that he had felt something dragging at his line, and on dragging it up saw "a horful crittur, with terrible big heyes fearsome to look at." He supposed it was the devil, and promptly threw it back into the water. He believed this to be a judgment for Sabbath-breaking.⁴

Medicine as a Charm.—The doctor's medicine was commonly regarded as a charm. A patient attacked with pleurisy was given a blister, and his wife was told to apply it to his chest. At his next visit the doctor was told that the blister had done wonders. But on examination he was surprised to find no marks showing that the blister had taken effect. "We hadn't got no chest," his wife explained, "but he's got a good-sized box in that corner, and we clapp'd en on that."

L. A. LAW.

¹ On the communing of ghosts buried close together, see Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii., 326.

² The tale is told at Mold, in Flintshire, where in a barrow was subsequently found a golden breastplate, now in the British Museum (2nd Ser. *Notes and Queries*, x., 342.)

³ The headless horseman is found all the world over. In 5th Ser. *Notes and Queries*, vi. 364, the ghost of a headless turkey walks.

⁴ This is the usual water demon which appears in so many mythologies. I have given some instances in *Popular Religion and Folklore*, i., 42 seqq.

OBITUARY.

MARY HENRIETTA KINGSLEY.

Born 1862, died 1900.

No one has fallen a victim to the war in South Africa whose loss has more keenly struck all who knew her, men and women alike, with a sense of being irreparable, nay national, than Mary Kingsley, daughter of Dr. George Kingsley (a naturalist and traveller himself), and niece to Charles and Henry. The blood of a gifted family ran in her veins, and she knew that their spirit stirred in her. Her training was not that of school or college, but that of home lessons and home influence. Books of all kinds, but especially scientific, abounded in the house, piles lay on the chairs and overflowed on to the floor, while the walls were covered with curiosities brought by the traveller from many lands, every one of which had its tale. The rambling garden at Highgate (where the present writer first knew her), the cocks and hens, her mother's pet cats and dogs, were part of her daily care as she grew up, together with all kinds of household duties. An eager student of natural history, and especially following her father's favourite study of fishes and their ways, geography and literature were not neglected in her education, and she learned German with pleasure, but not much French. When the father came home for a few months in the year the usual lessons were cast aside, but much quiet reading still went on. The doctor's brilliant talk had its unconscious influence upon his daughter; while contact with friends of scientific pursuits added to her knowledge. She took up works on ethnography and anthropology, studied philosophy, mathematics, and electricity, and helped her mother in good works.

About 1884 the family removed to Cambridge, where Mary enjoyed the society of learned and scientific men and women; and new vistas of study and of friendship opened up before her. But in 1888 her mother's ill-health became serious, and she devoted herself with much ability to nursing the invalid, while soon afterwards her father's health began also to cause anxiety. These responsibilities weighed heavily, and when in 1892 the death of both parents within two months set her free, the rebound was great. To

recover tone and health she took a trip to the Canaries, and came back strengthened and full of new ideas and plans, having shown her daring and courage even on this short voyage. In 1893 she started for West Africa, alone, notwithstanding the fears of friends; she knew herself, and felt full of life and hope. Her aims were to collect specimens, principally fish and insects, and to see and know native man away from the haunts of civilization. After some months she returned, with a large collection including many new species, and with much information gathered through difficult journeys and extraordinary adventures, conquered by her cheerful energy. In December, 1894, she went out again to West Africa, exploring many new regions, making close acquaintance with the natives, their customs, laws, and fetish. Here her tact, her sympathy, and fidelity to her word, brought her a rich harvest of knowledge as well as of anthropological specimens. Returning early in 1896 she published the first-fruits of her journeys in *Travels in West Africa*, 1897, which (though she acknowledged it to be "a word-swamp of a book"), took the world by storm with its racy humour, vivid picturesqueness, and serious feeling. The interest in West Africa was awakened, and she found a new power by means of speech and lecture, which she used in making known the trader and the native, their deeds, their spirit, and their true needs. The Chambers of Commerce recognised her valuable efforts, she was made a member of the Anthropological Institute, and did not spare herself in spreading the truth through many channels, academic, literary, and charitable. Among these may be named the Hibbert Lecture (1897) on "African Religion and Law," and a paper read at the British Association, Bristol, 1898, on "Property among the Peoples of the True Negro Stock." The Folk-Lore Society is indebted to her, not only for her paper on "The Fetish View of the Human Soul" (*Folk-Lore*, viii., pp. 138-151), read at a meeting in February, 1897, when she exhibited and explained the very interesting collection of folklore objects which she had brought back from West Africa, but also for the valuable introduction to Mr. Dennett's *Folklore of the Fjote*, and for her ready and inestimable help in seeing that work through the press. In 1899 the important volume *West African Studies* more carefully elaborated her views on certain points. She also undertook the *Story of West Africa* (1899), and in the spring of the present year brought out the Memoir of her father (prefixed to *Notes on Sport*

and Travel), now invested with a mournful interest as her last utterance. In March, 1900, she went to South Africa, with no definite work, but hoping to do some good, and thence perhaps go to the West Coast again. Nursing the sick Boers near Cape Town, she was cut off by fever on June 3rd, only two months after landing, and, to crown her life of unselfish self-sacrifice, was buried at sea by her own desire. Her frank fearlessness, her sincerity, and tender heart, her modesty, illumined by delightful humour, made up a rare character, whose influence was far-reaching, and was most precious to her friends.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

"A woman of genius, whose lovable and guileless nature, whose powers of tender sympathy and generous insight were only equalled by her daring as a traveller and explorer, and by her gifts as a writer—Mary Kingsley, the heir and sustainer of a great name, one of the ablest of that remarkable band of wandering writers, men and women, who are the eyes and ears to-day of our nascent Empire, who are bringing home to England 'that weary Titan,' her tasks, her faults, her problems—endowed with humour, with vision, with that light and laughing temper which sends home the shafts of knowledge and of feeling, and with a passion for justice which was in its roots also a passion for England—Mary Kingsley has gone from us. To the service of those poor fever-stricken prisoners from Paardeberg she has given her life, so precious, so full still of unexhausted power—flung it away, some people might contend, in an enterprise and a service that others with gifts less rare and less irreplaceable might have rendered. But!—it is from such waste that our wealth flows—from such giving that our hearts, sore as they may be, are shamed and fired afresh. These true knights-errant of intelligence and pity, who think no travail of mind and body too great to face, if only they may come at the truth and tell it—who wander, suffer, laugh, and learn—who make a new wisdom, often in the teeth of the old, which becomes the wisdom of their fellows—it is of them that we may say—

‘ Out of dangers, dreams, disasters,
They arise to be our masters ! ’ ”

MRS. HUMPHREY WARD,

At the Women Writers Dinner, 1900.

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Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XI.]

DECEMBER, 1900.

[No. IV.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20th, 1900.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Sidney Hartland) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Professor Usener of Bonn as a member of the Society was announced.

The President referred in feeling terms to the loss that had been sustained by the nation at large, and especially by all interested in anthropology and kindred sciences, or in the treatment of native races in Africa, by the lamented death of Miss Mary Kingsley.

The Secretary exhibited three Japanese fishing flies tied entirely without European models, presented to the Society by Major C. S. Cumberland. Dr. Gaster exhibited several mediæval woodcut initials representing children's games, of which Mr. Gomme gave some explanations.

The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce read a paper entitled "Cairene Folklore," and in the discussion which followed Dr. Gaster, Mr. F. T. Elworthy, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Janvier, and the President took part.

Votes of thanks were accorded to the lecturer and the donors of exhibits.

A pamphlet entitled "Des Sängers Lust," containing 1,100 German popular songs, presented to the Society by Dr. Gaster, was laid upon the table.

CAIRENE FOLKLORE.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE longer I have lived in Egypt, the more impressed I have been with the exhaustless extent of Egyptian folklore. Some of it goes back to the days of the Pharaohs, some of it is of Greek origin, a good deal of it again has been derived from the Arab conquerors of the valley of the Nile. For the folklore which has its roots in the Egypt of the Pharaohs, or in the Christianity which preceded the Mohammedan conquest, we have to look mainly to Upper Egypt; Cairo has been from the beginning the Mohammedan capital, and its folklore accordingly is chiefly of Mohammedan growth. I say "Mohammedan" rather than "Arab," since the Arab founders of the modern capital of Egypt have long ago been absorbed by alien elements—Kurdish, Turk, Persian, and more especially native Egyptian. Like the population, therefore, the folklore of Cairo, though in great measure of Arab origin, has little about it that is distinctively Arab; it has, on the contrary, a very marked character of its own, in which future analysis may be able to detect and distinguish Arab and foreign elements. This marked character, however, does not prevent it from being what we may term strongly Egyptian in colour and form; the moulds in which it has been cast are those of ancient Egypt, and the beliefs and superstitions round which it revolves can be traced back to Pharaonic days.

The folklore of Cairo, and not of Egypt generally, is the subject of the present paper, and it is consequently of importance that its character and nature should be fully understood. It represents the folklore of the rest of Egypt only in part; the stories told in the Cairene streets have grown up in a Mohammedan capital, though the ideas which underlie them and the beliefs they imply are in large

measure of native Egyptian origin and of immemorial antiquity in the valley of the Nile.

Take, for example, what is a leading feature in the greater number of them—the prominent part played in them by women, and the genius for intrigue and for outwitting their husbands which the latter display. We are carried back to the days of pre-Mohammedan Egypt, when the woman claimed equal rights with the man, when the land could be governed by queens, and the restrictions of the *harim* had not as yet prevented free intercourse between the sexes. Or take again the moral with which most of the Cairene stories end. It is characteristically Egyptian, as we know from the relics of the ancient literature of the country which have come down to us. The “oldest book in the world” is the moralising Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, and the novels of ancient Egypt, like the legends of the Christian period, were all intended to convey a moral lesson.

Most of the folklore I have collected is that of Cairo. I have filled note-books with the stories, the sayings, the superstitions, and the proverbs that have been repeated to me, and nevertheless they form but a small part of those which I have heard. I have found it impossible to transcribe the longer stories: I cannot write rapidly enough to keep pace with the story-teller, and I have found that if he is asked to repeat a passage he at once becomes self-conscious and changes the words of it into that hybrid jargon which is supposed to represent polite Arabic. As my object has been to record the dialect of Cairo exactly as it is spoken, quite as much as to preserve the folklore of the Cairene, I have written down only such stories as my pen could keep pace with. For longer stories I must refer to the collections of Spitta Bey and others, who have not cared to reproduce exactly the language and pronunciation of the narrator. Among these collections the most instructive and interesting is that of Yacoub Artin Pasha (*Contes*

populaires inédits de la Vallée du Nil, traduits de l'Arabe parlé, Maisonneuve, 1895). He has divided the stories into five groups, East Aryan, North Aryan, Semitic, Negro (or Sudanese), and Egyptian, the distinguishing trait of the last group being the ridicule into which the conquering race is turned. In this he believes he has found a sure criterion of the native origin of a story. The tales of Negro origin are distinguished by the introduction of a ghûl or ogre, while in those of North Aryan or European derivation, animals like the goat or the peacock are referred to, which were once sacred to the deities of paganism, but have in consequence been devoted to the spirit of evil by Christianity and Mohammedanism.

Distinctively Cairene are the stories in which the fellahin of Upper Egypt or the Nubians are ridiculed. The townsman thinks himself superior to the peasant, and numerous, therefore, are the stories which are told at the expense of the latter. Moreover, Christianity has lingered among the fellahin of Upper Egypt, while the population of Cairo is essentially Mohammedan. As for the Nubians, they come to Cairo in increasing numbers as domestic servants, and so, as was once remarked to me by a Cairene, "they take the bread out of the mouth" of the natives.

Here are two stories which I have lately heard, and which will illustrate the Cairene feeling in regard to the inhabitants of Upper Egypt and Nubia: "God once asked a dead man how old he was, and what he had done while alive. He replied that he was sixty years of age, that he had lived twenty years in the Delta, twenty years in Cairo, and twenty years in Upper Egypt. 'Stop,' said God, 'that makes you forty; Upper Egypt does not count.' For the people of Upper Egypt are like the cattle." The other story is of a similar character: "Two Nubians returning home from Cairo agreed to go shares in the expenses of the journey. When they came in sight of the Qubbet el-Hawa (at Assuan) they made up their accounts,

The one said: 'You owe me thirty paras.' The other answered: 'No, I owe only one piastre less ten paras.' So they quarrelled and fought, till an Egyptian came and pointed out that the two sums were the same, as forty paras make a piastre."

If the Copts of Upper Egypt are satirised by the Mohammedans of Cairo, the Copts in Cairo itself have taken their revenge. A cook I once had was a Copt, and my waiter one day came to me from him with a grin upon his face. I asked what had happened, and was told that he had just heard a story from the cook which bore hardly upon poor Mohammedans like himself. The story, which goes back to the long centuries of Mohammedan persecution, was as follows:—

"There was once a Copt who said to God: 'Shall we go (when we die) to Paradise or to the fire?' He answered: 'My boy, you will go to Paradise.' Then the Copt asked: 'The Catholics, and the English, and the Protestants, will they also all go to Paradise?' He replied: 'Certainly, there's a vestibule (there).' Then he asked: 'And the Mohammedans?' He answered: 'Ugh, is it a pigstye?'"

I will first give some examples of Cairene stories, and then pass on to the superstitions and more genuine folklore of the people.

I.

"There was once a fellah, who being annoyed with his wife left the village and went away; he came to another village, went to a house there and begged. The mistress came to him: 'Where do you come from (she asked)?' He replied: 'I am come from hell.' She said: 'Have you not seen my son Mohammed (there)?' He answered:

¹ Kan fî wâhid Giptî, 'al le-Rabbûna: "nehôsh eg-genna wala 'n-nar?" 'Allo: "waladi, tehôsh eg-genna." Hûwa 'allo: "el-Katalik, wel-Ingiliz, wel-Berotestant yehôshu gami'hum eg-genna?" 'Allo: "Wallah! fî dalliz." 'Allo: "wel-Muslimin?" 'Allo: "Ugh! hiya zerîba?"

'Yes I saw him, poor fellow, naked and hungry.' When she heard that she cried exceedingly, and went and got some clothes, and bread, and money, and gave them to him, saying: 'Give these to my son Mohammed along with many remembrances from me' The fellow took the clothes and went away, saying to himself: 'It's not my wife only who is a fool, all women are the same.' Presently the (Turkish) soldier (who was the woman's husband) came home and finds his wife crying, so he asks: 'What's the matter, Fatûna?' She replied: 'A man has come from hell, who has seen my son Mohammed (there) miserable, and naked, and hungry; so I have given him some linen clothes and some food to take to my son Mohammed.' The soldier cried: 'You are a fool, no one ever comes back from hell! Where's the fellow?' She said: 'He is gone in such and such a direction.' The soldier mounted his horse and rode off in order to overtake the fellah and recover from him the linen clothes. The fellah saw him coming in the distance and hid the clothes in the well of a water-wheel and said to the irrigator: 'Take a piastre and bring a stick from the garden (yonder).' The lad jumped over the walls; the soldier came and asks the fellow: 'Good Sir, has no one passed this way with a bundle of clothes?' He replied: 'Yes, soldier, he has just jumped over into the garden.' The soldier said: 'Hold the horse till I come (back).' He mounted the horse and took the clothes and went off. The soldier searches and searches; there is no one (to be seen). When he returns from the garden he cannot find the horse. He took his departure and returned home; his wife came to him: 'Where's the horse?' He answered: 'I have sent it to Mohammed in order that he may ride it in hell.'"¹

¹ Kan fî wâhid râgil fellâh; za'al min merâtoḥ, fatlah el-beled umishi; râḥ fi beled tâni, râḥ 'ala wâhid bêṭ, yishḥat: es-sittê gatlo: "enta gai min ên?" 'allah "ana gai min gehennam!" 'alêtlo: "mashûftish Mohammed ibni?"

II.

"There was a man whose name was Khêba (Ignoramus), who was married to a wife named Nêba (Scold); he was walking one day when he found a very pretty thing, so he said (to himself): 'It will do as a present to the Sultan.' He took it and went to the Sultan and said: 'Accept this present, O king, I have brought it for you!' The Sultan said to him: 'Tell me what I shall give you in return for it.' He answered: 'I want you to fill my house with bread.' The Sultan replied: 'My man, ask for something else.' He answered: 'I want you to fill my house with bread!' The Sultan ordered (accordingly) that his house should be filled with bread. When they had filled the house with bread, he and his wife sat down to devour the food. He said to her: 'Get up, Nêba, and moisten the bread!' She replied: 'Get up yourself, Khêba, and moisten the bread.' He answered her, and words ran high, as to who should moisten the bread. The two sat opposite one another, but neither he nor she speaks (a word). Now there was a woman with child, who sent her negress slave

'allâha: "Shufto meskin, 'aryân, gëy'ân." Lamma hiya simât, 'ayyatêt ketir; raḥet, gâbet hudûm wâ-êsh wa-flûs: iddêthum lir-râgil, u'aletlo: "iddi dôl lê-Mohammed ibnî usellim 'alêh ketir." Er-râgil akhad el-ḥagât umishi: 'r-râgil yekallim nefsûh: "mûsh bess marâti magnûna, kûl en-niswân zê kida." Swoyya el-gindi gâ min barra; yil'a marâto bit'ayyat; 'allah: "khabar ê, Fatûna?" 'aletlo: "fî wâḥid râgil gâ min geḥennam, shâf ibnî Moḥammed meskin 'aryan ugâ'ân; an' iddêtlo shwoyyet shemmashîr, shwoyyet akl 'alashân yêwaddi l' Moḥammed ibnî." El-gindi 'allah: "enti magnûna, maḥaddish gai min geḥennam; fên er-râgil?" 'aletlo: "mishi kida!" El-gindi rikib el-ḥosân bêtâ'o, umishi 'alashân yêḥassal er-râgil, leinn yemsik minno esh-shemashîr. Er-râgil shâfu min bo'd. Khabba 'sh-shemashîr fî wâḥid sâqia: ukallim l'wâḥid 'lî fi-'s-sâqia: "Khod wâḥid 'irsh we-ḥaṭ aṣâya min el-genêna." El-walad noṭṭ el-ḥêt; el-gindi gâ, yis'al er-râgil: 'allo: "yâ shêkh, mafattish wâḥid râgil min hina; ma'ah wâḥid buqqa hudûm?" 'Allo, "aiwa, ya gindi, huwa noṭṭ dilwaqti fîl genêna." El-gindi 'allo, "emsik el-ḥosân lamm' agi." 'R-râgil rikib el-ḥosân umisik el-hudûm umishi. El-gindi yedawwar, yedawwar 'ala 'r-râgil: mâfîsh. Lamma yirga' el-gindi min el-genêna mayil'âsh el-ḥosân. 'Khad ba'do uriga' 'al-bêt: es-sittê betâhto gêtlo: "fên el-ḥosân?" 'Allaha: "ana ba'to l' Moḥammed, yirkabu fîl geḥennam."

to fetch Nêba in order that she might help her. When the slave reached the house she began to call to her: 'Nêba, wife of Khêba!' No one answered her. The slave opened the door and found the two sitting opposite each other. The slave said to her: 'Get up, ma'am, and act as midwife.' She rose and went with her to the house. When the woman had given birth, they killed a sheep, and gave the inwards to Nêba. Nêba gave them to the slave and told her to carry them to Khêba. The slave took them, and went to the house; she cries: 'O Khêba, husband of Nêba!' No one answered her. The slave got angry, opened the door, and went in; there she found Khêba sitting, and said to him: 'Take it, Khêba; this is what Nêba has sent you.' No reply was made to her. As he did not answer her, the slave put the tripe round his head, wound the intestines round his neck, and left him and went away. The dogs smelt the savour (of the tripe); they came gradually nearer and nearer to him; when they got up to him no one drove them away, so they pulled at the intestines and the fellow falls down; they continue to drag him as far as the Nile. A fisherman passed by; when he drew up his net, Khêba was in the net. The fisherman cried: 'Are you a man or a spirit?' There was no answer. The fisherman thought to himself: 'I will take him and make a show of him; I shall make more money thereby than out of my fishing.' So he threw him over his shoulder and went his way. Nêba went home, but did not find Khêba; she said: 'Perhaps he has gone to wash the inwards.' She went to the river to see, and found the fisherman carrying him. 'What's the matter, Khêba?' she asked. 'Ah, you have to moisten the bread' he shouted (because she had been the first to speak). The fisherman exclaimed: 'Get down and a curse be on you! Is it only about moistening the bread that you have made this row?'¹

¹ Kan fi wâhid râgil ismo Khêba; kan mitgawwiz wâida hîsm'ha Nêba: er-râgil mâshi wâhid yôm, laqa wâhida hâga kuwaiyyisa ketir: qallo: "tinfa

III.

"There was once a man who had a thousand piastres, but he was afraid to go into business because of his money ; then he goes (away), not wanting to give anything to other people lest he should become poorer. A neighbour of theirs, a woman, said to his wife : ' You had better buy some spring chickens ; they will soon grow into fowls, and you can sell each fowl for two piastres and a half or perhaps three piastres, and so you will make a good profit.' The wife replied : ' Very well, when my husband comes I will tell him of it.' When her husband came in she said to him : ' You had better buy some spring chickens so that we may

hedîya lis-sultân : " akhad el-hâga-di werâh lis-sultân : qallo : " 'êbel el-hediya-di, ya melik ! 'ebiltë minnak." 's-sultân qal lir-râgil : " etmin 'alêya tahtah ! " Qal : " an' 'auz timlâli 'l-bêt êsh." Es-sultân qallo : " Ya râgil, utlub hâga tâni." Qallo : " an' 'auz timlâli el-bêt êsh ! " 's-sultân amar yim-lûlu 'l-bêt êsh. Lamma mâlu el-bêt êsh, qa'ad huwa 'mrâto lim'aqđ el-akl. Qallah : " Ya Nêba, qûmi, billi el-êsh ! " Hîya qaletlo : " Qûm, ya Khêba, enta bill el-êsh ! " Huwa qallah, 'ilet kalâm huwa yebill el-êsh. Qa'ad letnên qosâd ba'd : la-hûwa yitkallim wala hîya yitkallim. Fih wâhida sitt betûlid : ba'atet el-garya betâ'ha 'alashân terûhha Nêba tewulêdah. Lamma wassalet el-garya lihadd el-bêt, fidilet el-garya tindah 'alêha, " Ya Nêba, imrat Khêba ! " Maḥaddish radd 'alêha : 'l-garya fatahet el-bâb, laqet letnên qa'idîn qosâd ba'd : 'l-garya qaletla ; " qûmi, walladi, sitti." Qamet, mishiyyet wayâha lihadd el-bêt : lamma waladet es-sitt, dabahum wâhid kharûf, iddu el-isha li-Nêba : Nêba iddêt el-isha lil-garya uqalêtlêha : " waddi el-isha lë-Khêba." El-garya misiketha urâhet ila 'l-bêt : tindah : " Ya Khêba, ya gôz Nêba ! " Maḥaddish yerudd 'alêha. Lamma za'alat el-garya, fatahet el-bâb uḥâshet gûwa, laqet Khêba qâ'id, qaletlo : " Khod, ya Khêba : di ba'atet ḥalek Nêba." Makanshî radd 'alêh. Lamma mayeruddish lil-garya, el-garya libiset el-kirsh fir-râsuh, lafet em-maşarin ḥawalin raqâbeto ufatêto umishiyyet. El-kilâb shemm er-rîḥah, gûm : qarrabu 'alêh shwoyya shwoyya : lamma gûm 'andoh makanshî ḥad yehôshu, shaddu em-maşarin, er-râgil yûqa' ; fedil yedâliq lamma lihadd el baḥr : fi fayyit wâhid şayyâd : lamm' esh-shabaka tila' Khêba fish-shabaka : eş-şayyâd qallo : " enta ensî wâla ginnî ? " makanshî radd 'alêh. Eş-şayyâd qal fi nefsuḥ : " Amsiku 'alashân en-nâs yitfarrag 'alêh ; alimm aktar min 'ş-şayyâda." Shâlu 'ala kitfu umishi. Nêba raḥet el-bêt, malaqetsh' Khêba ; qalet : " yumkin nizil ighsil el-isha." Hîya nezla 'alashân teshûfu, laqet eş-şayyâd shâlu : qaletlo : " Khabar ê, ya Khêba ? " " qallaha : " 'Alêki ball el-êsh ! " Eş-şayyâd qallo : " Enzil, in'al abûk ! 'alashân ball el-êsh ta'mil kida ? "

make a good profit (out of them). At present ten spring chickens cost a piastre, but after awhile when they grow big we can sell them for two and a half piastres each, and so make a great deal.' Her husband replied: 'Very good, you are a clever woman.' So he gave his wife a thousand piastres, and she bought spring chickens with five hundred of them and corn with the (other) five hundred. She put the chickens into a court and crushed the corn and threw it to the chickens, and shut the door upon them. (But) the kite comes and picks out the chickens; the weasel comes and carries off some others. After a little time they went to see the chickens: they find only one of them left. Then the man said to his wife: 'Cook the cock and we will dine off it.' His wife killed the cock and cooked it. When her husband comes, he said to her: 'Who can dine off a thousand piastres? it can only be the sultan; if I should make such a dinner everyone would say, This fellow is mad, no one dines for a thousand piastres except the sultan.' So he took the cock in a dish and took the bread and went to the palace of the sultan. The porter said to him: 'Hullo, where are you going, good sir?' He replied: 'I am going to the sultan to give him the cock.' The porter answered: 'If the sultan is favourable to you, what will you give me?' He replied: 'I will give you a quarter.' He said: 'Very well, go!' He reached the second gate; the second porter asked him: 'Where are you going?' He answered: 'I have a present for the sultan.' The porter said: 'If the sultan grants you a favour, what will you give me?' He replied: 'I will give you a quarter.' So the other said: 'Very good, go.' He reached the third gate; the porter asked: 'Where are you going?' He replied: 'I have a present for the sultan.' The porter said: '(If) the sultan grants you a favour what will you give me?' He answered: 'I will give you a quarter.' He said: 'Very good, pass on.' He reached the fourth gate; the porter asked him: 'Where are you going, good sir?' He replied: 'I have a

present for the sultan.' He asked: '(If) the sultan grants you a favour, what will you give me?' He replied: 'I will give you a quarter.' The porter said: 'Very good, pass on.' The fellow entered the palace and found the sultan and the vizier, and the sultan's children, sitting (there). He makes obeisance to the sultan; the sultan asks him: 'What have you got, good sir?' He answered: 'I have a present for you.' The sultan said: 'A present, of what sort is it?' He answered: 'Food.' The sultan said: 'All right, I have not yet eaten.' They placed the food in the middle of them and sat down to eat. The sultan said to the fellow: 'Set on!' (*literally*, display). He replied: 'Your servant!' and took the cock, broke its head and gave it to the sultan, saying: 'The head! you shall take the head.' And he gave the neck to the vizier, saying: 'The neck! you shall have the neck.' And he gave the children the wings and said to them: 'The wings! and you shall take the wings.' The sultan exclaimed: 'What's this, O vizier?' Then the vizier replied: 'The head includes all the people; therefore you take the head.' The sultan was greatly pleased with the fellow and said: 'Ask what I shall give you!' He answered: 'I want eight hundred blows with the kurbash.' The sultan said: 'My man, think of something else!' He said: 'No, I want eight hundred blows with the kurbash.' When they were going to give him the eight hundred lashes he cried: 'Wait a little! I have a partner!' They went to the first gate; he said to them: 'Give the Nubian two hundred!' When they had given the fellow two hundred blows they went to the second gate: he told them to give the porter of it another two hundred. Next they came to the third gate; and he told them to give the porter of it another two hundred. They went to the fourth gate and he told them to give the porter there another two hundred. The sultan asked: 'What is the meaning of this, good sir?' He replied: 'Your majesty, when I came the fellow said to

me : If the sultan grants you a favour, what will you give me? I answered, I would give a quarter. Each of the porters asked the same question and I made the same reply: 'I will give you a quarter.' So if your honour wishes to give me anything, each will take a quarter, and I shall have nothing. Now each has taken a quarter and I have had nothing.' The sultan laughs greatly; he was pleased with the fellow and gave him plenty of *bakshish*. So he went back to his house and was happy. He had a neighbour, a woman; when she saw that he had received plenty of *bakshish*, she said to her husband: 'Come, I will prepare two cocks, and do you give them to the king in order that he may give you plenty of money as he has done to our neighbour.' He replied: 'Very well!' She prepared for him four cocks and a little bread, and he took the meat and the bread and went to the palace. As soon as the porter saw him, he said nothing for fear; so the fellow passed from the first gate to the last. He found the sultan, and the vizier, and the children, sitting, and made obeisance. The sultan asked: 'What have you got, good sir?' He answered: 'I have a present for you.' The sultan asked: 'What is the present?' He answered: 'Food.' The sultan said: 'Very well, I have not yet eaten.' He put the food in the middle of them, and they sat down to eat. The sultan said to him: 'Set on!' The fellow gave a cock to each. The sultan said: 'Good sir, why is there nothing for yourself?' He replied: 'The wise man eats of the sauce.' The vizier said to the sultan: 'This fellow is a fool: he makes us fools and himself the wise man.' The sultan grew angry with the man and said: 'He must be beaten well.' Then they beat him and turned him out of the palace."¹

¹ Kân fi wâhid râgil, 'ando elf 'irsh, lâkin khâyif yî'mil tâgir 'alashân 'l-felûs betâ'o; ba'dên yerûh; mûsh 'auz yiddi linnâs et-tâni 'alashân yîgî nasîm. Fi wâhid sitt gârhum kallim 'mrâto: "aḥsan tishtêru katakît 'alashân ba'de shwoyya yîgî ferâkh; tibî'u 'l-farkha be'etnên 'irsh unûss wala telâta 'irsh,

IV.

"One day the Sultan told Abu-Nowâs that his wife said a smell went up from her during the night. Abu-Nowâs

yekûn fî maksab ketîr." Kallimét-ha : "Tayyib, lamma yigî gôzi an' akallim." Lamma gâ 'lgôz betâ'ha min barra kallim'tu ; "aḥsan tishtéri katakit 'alashân 'andîna maksab ketîr. Dilwaqtî kul 'ashera katkût wâḥid 'irsh, bûkra lamma yigî kubâr nebi'a 'l-wâḥid [b']etnên 'irsh unuss, yekûn 'andîna maksab ketîr : " 'r-râgil kallimha : "Tayyib, enti shâtira" : edda lim'râto elfê 'irsh : hiya isheret be-khumsemiya 'irsh katakit ukhumsemiya rhalla : séyibet el-katakît fî wâḥid hôsh ukassaret el-rhalla weraméto lil-katakît, u'afalet el-bâb betâ' el-katakît 'alêha. El-hiddâya yigî, tu'tuf min el-katakît ; el-'arsa tîgî, temsik kamân shwoyya ; ba'dê shwoyyet iyyâm râḥum 'alashân yeshûfu 'l-katakît : yil'u wâḥid minhum bess : ba'dên er-râgil kallim l'mrato : "etbah ed-dîk 'alashân nit'asha bûh." Mrâto dabahet ed-dîk utabakhetu. Lamma yigî gozha kallimha : "Min yit'asha b'elfe 'irsh ? lâzim huwa bess es-sultân : izakunt ana nakul kida, en-nâs yekallimu, er-râgil-da magnûn, mahaddish yakul b'elfe 'irsh ill' es-sultân." Er-râgil misik ed-dîk fî wâḥid ṣaḥn ukhadd el-êsh werâḥ ila 'sserâya betâ' 's-sultân : el-bawwâb kallimmo, "Enta râyiḥ fên, ya shêkh ?" Kallimmo : "Ana raiḥ 'and es-sultân 'alashân addîlo 'd-dîk." El-bawwâb kallimmo : "izakan es-sultân yin'am 'alêk, tiddinî ê ?" 'Allo : "Addîlak er-roba'." 'Allo, "Tayyib, rûḥ !" Waṣal il' el-bâb et-tâni : er-râgil et-tani kallimmo : "Enta râiḥ fên ?" 'Allo : " 'Andi ḥediya lis-sultân." 'Allo : "Yin'am 'alêk es-sultân, tiddinî ê ?" 'Allo : "Addîlak er-roba'." 'Allo : "Tayyib, rûḥ !" Waṣal il' el-bâb et-tâlit : el-bawwâb kallim : "Râḥ fên ?" 'Allo : " 'Andi ḥediya lis-sultân." 'Allo : "Yin'am 'alêk, tiddinî ê ?" Kallimmo : "Addîlak er-ruba'." 'Allo : "Tayyib, fût." Waṣal il' el-bâb er-râba' : el-bawwâb kallimmo : "Râḥ fên ya shêkh ?" 'Allo : "Andi ḥediya 'alashân es-sultân." 'Allo : "Yin'am 'alêk es-sultân tiddinî ê ?" 'Allo : "Addîlak er-ruba'." 'Allo : "Tayyib, fût." Ḥaṣh er-râgil es-serâya : la'a es-sultan wul-wezîr we-ûlâd es-sultân 'a'idin. Er-râgil yirmi 's-salâm lil-sultân : es-sultân 'al l'râgil : ma'k ê, ya shêkh ?" 'Allo : " 'Andi ḥediya 'alashânak." 'Allo : "ḥediya, ginso ê ?" 'Allo : "Akl." 'Allo : "Tayyib, ana lissa makalnâsh." Haṭṭu el-akl wastîhum u'â'dum yaklu. Es-sultân 'al l'r-râgil "farrag !" Er-râgil 'allo : "Ḥâḍer !" Er-râgil misik ed-dîk ukassar râso u'ddâḥ lis-sultân ukallimmo : "Er-râs ! tâkhod er-râs." Uidda er-ra'aba lil-wezîr, u'allo : "Er-ra'aba ! temsik er-ra'aba." We-iddu lil-ulâd 'l-igniḥa, we-'abluhum : "El-igniḥa ! takhod 'l-igniḥa." Huwa akal ed-dîk. Es-sultân kallim : "Khabar ê, ya wezîr ?" Uba'dên el-wezîr kallimmo : "Er-râs betâ' kul en-nâs, 'alashân kida tâkhod er-râs." Es-sultân gî mabsût min er-râgil 'âwi ; allo : "Etmenna 'alêya taṭtah." 'Allo : "Ana 'auz tumnemiya kurbâg." Es-sultân 'allo : "Er-râgil ! shâf ḥâga tâni." 'Allo : "lâ, 'auz tumnemiya kurbâg," Lamm' 'auzin yidrobu er-râgil bel-tumnemiya kurbâg, kallim : "Istanna shwoyya ! 'andi sherîk." Mishu ila 'l-awwal-bâb ; 'alluhûm : " iddu lil-berbéri miyeten." Lamma ḍarabu er-râgil miyetên

replied: 'O Sultan, we will contrive something to remove the smell.' Then he brought a pipe, and went to the soldiers who came by night to the Sultan's palace, (telling them) that when they hear the watchman overhead they must assemble (in the Sultan's room). During the night the Sultan was asleep and his wife said: 'A smell rises from me!' Then the soldiers thronged together (to the Sultan) and the Sultan said: 'What's the matter?' The soldiers answered that Abu-Nowâs had been the cause of it. In the morning the Sultan said to the vizier: 'I never want to see Abu-Nowâs again.' The vizier replied: 'If you don't want to see Abu-Nowâs, we will throw him into the well where the ape will eat him.' When Abu-Nowâs comes in the morning the vizier said to him: 'The Sultan will throw you into the well to-day!' Abu-Nowâs answered that he would come after two or three hours. Then he went

kurbâg, mishu ila 'l-bâb et-tani : kallimmo : "iddûlu kamân miyetên," Râhu kamân ila 'l-bâb et-talit ; 'alluhûm : "iddûlu kamân miyetên." Râhu ila 'l-bâb er-râba ; 'alluhûm : "iddu lil-bawwâb-dâ kamân miyetên." Es-sultân kallim ler-râgil : "enta, ya shêkh, khabar ê?" 'Allo : "sa'âdet el-melik, lamm 'ana gît, er-râgil kallimni ; lamm' elmelik yin'am 'alêk tiddîni ê? ana kallimto : addilak er-ruba'. Kullô wâhid min el-bawwâbîn yekallimni zê kida we-a'ulluhûm : addilak er-ruba'. Lamma hadrétak 'auz tiddîni hâga, kullô wâhid yemsik ruba'. Ana mensikshi hâga ; dilwaqti kullô wâhid misik er-ruba'. Ana memsiktish hâga. Es-sultân yidhak ketîr ; gî mabsut min er-râgil weyiddâlu bakshîsh ketîr. Rauwah er-râgil ila 'l-bêt betâ'ô ukân mabsut. Fî wâhida gâro : lamma shâfet huwa misik bakshîsh ketîr, kallimet gôzha : "ta'âla, 'amilak dikên, uidda'u lil-melik 'alashan yiddilak bakshîsh ketir zê ler-râgil 'lli gârna." 'Allah : "Tayyib." 'Amilêto arba' dik ushwoy-yet êsh, umisik et-tabîkh wul-êsh werâh ila 's-serâya. Awwal ma shâfu el-bawwâb, makanshi kallimmo hâga 'alashan kân khâyif : er-râgil yehosh min awwal bâb lamma 'l-akher. Er-râgil la'a es-sultân wul-wezîr wel-ulâd 'â'idîn ; rama es-salâm. Es-sultan kallimmo : "Mâk ê, ya shêkh?" 'Allo : 'Andi hediya 'alashânak." 'Allo : "Ê el-hediya?" 'Allo : "Akl." 'Allo : "Tayyib ; ana lissa kamân makalnash." Hât el-akl wastîhum, u'â'dum yaklu. Es-sultân 'al ler-râgil : "farrag !" Er-râgil edda l'kul wâhid wâhid dik. Es-sultân 'allo : "ya shêkh, enta 'alashânê mafish?" 'Allo : "el-â'il yakul min em-mara'a." El-wezîr kallim lis-sultân : "Er-râgildâ magnûn ; yi'milna maganîn u huwa â'il." Es-sultân gî za'alân min er-râgil ukallim : "lâzim yidrobu tayyib." Uba'dên çarabu er-râgil we-shalûh min es-serâya.

and bought a sheep ; he bought also a drum and bagpipes ; he put them into a saddlebag and went to the Sultan. Then the vizier said : ' What is all this, Abu-Nowâs ? ' He replied : ' I want food, because the people who are dead have had nothing to eat. ' He took the food with him, and then they took him to the well. Then Abu-Nowâs said that the ape would kill him if he is let slowly down into the well. And the people say : ' All right ! ' When he is let slowly down into the well, he saw the ape in the well ; he gave him pieces of meat one by one, and the ape grows satiated. The people above say : ' It's all over ! Abu-Nowâs has been dropped into the well, and the ape has eaten him ! ' But Abu-Nowâs took the drum, and when the ape grows hungry he gives him a piece of the flesh. The people come to see Abu-Nowâs ; they see him making a merry noise at the bottom of the well. Then the people say to the Sultan : ' Always when you throw a man into the well the ape eats him at once, but now Abu-Nowâs beats on his kettledrum, and plays with the bagpipes in the well. ' The Sultan went to the well and said : ' Abu-Nowâs ! ' Abu-Nowâs answered : ' What do you want ? ' He says : ' Come ! ' Abu-Nowâs replies : ' No, I don't want to, I am contented (here). ' Then the people let down ropes and draw Abu-Nowâs up from the well. And he said : ' I was contented in the well ; why do you come to me ? ' " ¹

¹ Wâhid yôm es-Sultan kallim l'âbû-Nowâs : " qalet es-sitt, bil-lêl yitla, minnâh riḥah. " Qallo Abû-Nowâs : " Ya sultân, ni'mil wâhid shai wenhoṭṭe 'r-riḥa barra. " Ba'dên gâb mâsûra werâḥ el-askar ellâzim tigu bil-lêl 'and es-serâya betâ' es-sultân : lamma tisma'u el-rhafr min fôq lâzim ti'milu teshrîfa ; uba'dên bil-lêl es-sultân nâyim : es-sitt qalet : " yitla 'minni riḥa. " Ba'den el-askar ti'mil teshrîfa, wes-sultân qâl : " Khabar ê ? " El-askar qâlet : " Abu-Nowâs i'mil kida. " Fiṣ-ṣubḥ es-sultân qâl lil-wezîr : " Mûsh 'auz ashûf Abû-Nowâs ebeden. " El-wezîr qâl lis-sultan : " izakân mûsh 'auz tâshûf Abû-Nowâs, nirmîh fil-bîr, 'lli fi el-qîrd yakulo. " Lamma yigî Abû-Nowâs fiṣ-ṣubḥ el-wezîr qâl l'Abû-Nowâs : " Es-sultân yirmik fil-bîr en-nehar-da ! " Abû-Nowâs qallo ba'd etnên telâta sâ'a yigî. Uba'dên rah ishtêri wâhid kharûf ; ishtêri wâhid darabûka, ishtêri wâhid zommâra ; haṭto fil-khorg werâḥ 'and es-sultân. Ba'dên el-wezîr qâl : " Khabar ê, y-Âbû-Nowâs ? " Qallo : " 'Auz

V.

"There is a friend of mine, whose tooth pained him. So he went to Cairo for a doctor; he makes his way to a merchant of *hashîsh*, and asks: 'My man, where does the dentist live?' He replied: 'I am a dentist.' He said: 'Praise be to God that I have seen you!' Then the other asked: 'You are in pain, are you not?' He answered: 'Yes.' Then they smoked three pipes of *hashîsh*, and the *hashîsh*-merchant said: 'Bring a cord.' Then he said: 'Show me the tooth.' He answered: 'This is it' (pointing to the place). He tied the cord round the tooth, and fastened the other end of it to the man's foot, and then gave him a blow from behind; the fellow drew away his head and the tooth fell to the ground. He cried: 'O sons of Cairo, learned and understanding ones! the tooth is extracted from (my) back!' " ¹

akl; 'alashân en-nâs ellî mâṭ makalsh." Misik el-akl wayyâh; uba'dên misikû 'and el-bîr. Ba'dên Abû-Nowâs qâl el-qird yimawweto lamma yenzil fil-bîr shwoyya shwoyya. Wen-nâs yeqûl: "Tayyib!" Lamma yenzil fil-bîr shwoyya shwoyya, shâf el-qird fil-bîr: iddîlo ḥettet el-laḥm wâḥid wâḥid, wel-qird yîḡi shab'ân. En-nâs min fôq yeqûlu: "Khalâs; Abû-Nowâs nîzil fil-bîr wel-qird akalo." Lâkin Abû-Nowâs misik ed-darabûka we-kullimâ el-qird yîḡi ḡi'ân yiddîlo ḥettet el-laḥm. En-nâs yîḡi yeshûf Abû-Nowâs; yeshûfo fî-zêṭa fil-bîr. Ba'dên en-nâs yeqûl lis-sultân: "dâiman lamma tirmi wâḥid râgil fil-bîr el-qird yak'lo qawâm, lâkin dilwaqti beyidrob Abû-Nowâs fî-ṭablô, wey'zommer fil-bîr." Es-sultân râḡ 'and el-bîr weqâl: "Yâbû-Nowâs!" Abû-Nowâs yeqûl: "'auz ê?" Yeql: "Ta'âla!" Abû-Nowâs yeqûl: "lâ, mûsh 'auz, ana mabsûṭ." Ba'dên en-nâs yenezzil ḡabl we-talla' Abû-Nowâs min el-bîr. Weqâl: "Ana konte mabsûṭ fil-bîr; 'alashanê tîḡi 'andi?"

¹ Fî wâḥid râgil şâḡibi, u sinne betâ'o kân wuḡa'. Werâḡ Masr 'alashân ḡakîm; howa mâshi le-wâḥid khawâḡi ḡashîsh; qallo: "ya râgil, fên el-ḡakîm betâ' 'snân?" Qallo: "ana 'l-ḡakîm." Qallo: "'l-ḡamdu-lillâḡ lamma 'na shuftak!" Ba'dên qallo: "enta 'ayyân, ê?" Qallu: "aiwa." Ba'dên shirbu t'lâta tammîre ḡashîsh; weqallo: "ḡâb wâḥid ḡabl(a)." Qallo: "warrîni 's-sinna!" Qallo: "dî" (pointing to it). Rabâṭ el-ḡabl(a) fis-sinna, uba'dên rabâṭ fir-rîḡlo. Ba'den min warra ḡarab wâḥid kaff; er-râḡi shâl râsu, u-ḡirsu waḡa' fil-arḡ. Er-râgil qallo: "Yôlâd Masr, yaḡaffezzin yaḡâḡemîn! ya yetalla' eḡ-ḡirs min el-firş!"

VI.

"There was once a man who had guests. His wife prepared food within. Then the man comes to the door, and says to it: 'Bring some cutlets! O my brother door, bring some rissoles!' The people who were sitting (there) were astonished, and asked him if he would sell the door. He replied: 'I don't want to sell it, for it brings me everything I order.' (One of the guests) said: 'You must sell the door.' So he answered: 'Buy it!' The other said: 'A hundred pounds?' 'No.' 'Two hundred pounds?' 'All right!' He took the money, and the (other) man carries the door to a camel and goes off to his village. And (there) he asked a lot of people to dinner, for he was delighted with the door. Then when all the guests were seated, he cried: 'O door, bring some cutlets!' But the door gives him nothing. 'O door, bring some ass's flesh!' But the door again gives him nothing. Nothing he asks the door for is given him. Then the people said to him: 'This fellow is mad, he has no sense.' Then they went away angry, because he had played a joke upon them. (So) another day he took the door back to his friend's house, and said: 'I don't want the door.' He answered: 'Why?' He said: 'Because when I say, O door, bring some cutlets! it does not bring them.' The other replied: 'You must have done something to the door, so that it gives you nothing. For that reason I won't take it.' So the fellow had to take the door again perforce.'"¹

¹ Kân fî wâhid râgil, ukân er-râgil 'ando diyûf; emrâto 'amal akl min gûwa. Ba'dên 'r-râgil yîgî gamb el-bâb; 'al lil-bâb: "hât kebâb! akhtya bâb, hât mahshî!" En-nâs el-'â'adîn istâ'gibu; 'allûh: "tibîh el-bâb?" 'Allo: "mûsh 'auz abîh, 'alashân kulle hâga akallim yegibli." 'Alluh: "Lâzim tibâhli el-bâb." 'Allo: "Ishtéri!" 'Allo: "Mîyet ginê?" 'Allo: "Lâ." 'Allo: "Mîyetên ginê?" 'Allo: "Tayyib;" Huwa misik el-felûs, wer, râgil hâmil 'l-bâb 'ala gamal wesafar el-beled betâ'ô. Urrâgil 'amal 'azûma 'alashân nâs ketîr, 'alashân farhân bil-bâb. Ba'dên ba'd mâ 'n-nâs kullo 'â'adîn, 'allo: "ya bâb, hât kebâb?" El-bâb mûsh yiddilo hâga: "Ya bâb, hât lahm homâra;" mûsh yiddilo hâga kaman. Kullo shai yutlub el-bâb.

VII.

"There was a spinner of Cairo, and a spinner of Syria, who sent a letter to the spinner of Cairo, saying: 'I am coming to you to show you my spinning.' When he comes (the other) awaits him in the station; after greeting the other, the newcomer says: 'Are there no teasels here?' The other replies: 'There are.' (Then) they went to a thicket of thorns and he ties them to his body till it is quite full of them, and he says: 'Show me the people of the city who are in the Hamzawi bazaar.' When he went there to them they fell upon him (crying): 'Away with you, you spinner!' He goes to another shop; another falls upon him (crying): 'Away with you, you spinner!' And (this continued) until all the shops had been passed. Then he says: 'My brother, I have shown you my spinning.' The other replied: 'Very well, go on!' They lighted on the house (of the spinner of Cairo) to eat together, and (the Syrian spinner) then said: 'I am off!' The spinner of Cairo answered: 'I want to visit Syria in order to show you my spinning.' The other replied: 'Very well, when you want to come send me a letter that I may wait for you in the station.' 'Very well,' said (the other). A few days afterwards he sent him a letter saying: 'I am coming,' and the spinner of Syria awaited him in the station. When he arrived there he greeted his friend, and they walked away together, the spinner of Cairo (and the other), and they walk away. The spinner of Cairo saw an old woman drawing water from the well; he pulled the rope and the bucket fell into the well. When they had gone to the house of the spinner of Syria and were sitting

mûsh yiddilo. Ba'dên en-nâs kallimmo: "Er-râgil-da magnûn, m'andûsh 'a'l." Ba'dên en-nâs mishu za'alanin 'alashân er-râgil byidhak 'alêhum. Tâni yôm misik el-bâb warra 'ande sâhbo. 'Allo: "Mûsh 'auz el-bâb." 'Allo: "'alash-anê?" 'Allo: "'alashân akallim, ya bâb hât kebâb! mûsh yegîb." 'Allo: lâzim enta 'amalte hâga fil-bâb, 'alashân di mûsh yiddilak. Ana mamsikshi el-bâb." Uba'dên er-râgil misik el-bâb tâni nôba bizzûr.

down to eat (the Syrian) said : ' My brother, you know you have not shown me your spinning.' He replied : ' My brother, while walking I found a woman drawing water from the well ; I pulled the rope (and) it continued descending and then descending, descending and then descending.' When the food was finished he got up. Seven days passed, every day it was 'descending and then descending' (till) the spinner of Syria said : ' Get up, O spinner, out of my house ; you have sat seven days descending and then descending ; in the place you go to, you sit ten years.' " ¹

VIII.

" There was a Turk who was the governor of the village. He went to the market to buy a cow. He found a peasant who had a very fine cow, so he said : ' Will you sell the cow ? ' He replied : ' What will you give for it ? ' He said : ' Forty *afarim* (bravoës) ? ' The peasant answered : ' Im-

¹ Kân fî wâhid râgil rhazil betâ' Masr, ufi wâhid rhazil betâ' 'sh-Shâm ; ba't wâhid gawâb lil-rhazil betâ' Masr : 'allo : "âna gai 'andak, 'alashân awwarrik el-rhazâla betâ' ti." Lamma gai istannah fim-maḥaṭṭa : ba'dên sellim 'alêh : 'allo : "mâfish hina 'a'ûl ?" 'Allo : "fi." Râḥum 'ala shôk ketîr weyurbuṭ fig-gism lamma malâ 'g-gism kullo : 'allu : "warrîni en-nâs ulâd el-beled elli fil-Ḥamzâwî ;" lamma râh henâk 'anduhûm yû'a' 'alêh : "emshi ya rhazil !" yerûh 'ala dokkân tâni, yû'a' tâni 'alêh : "emshi, ya rhazil !" lamma khalâs ed-dakakîn. 'Allo : "akhî, ana awrétik el-rhazâla betâ' ti." 'Allo : "Tayyib ! yalla !" 'Khâdu fil-bêt, akalu sawâ, u'allu "ana mesâfir." 'Allo 'l-rhazil betâ, Masr : "ana 'auz nigî fish-Shâm 'alashân awrilak el-rhazâla betâ' ti." 'Allo : "Tayyib ! lamma 'nta 'auz tigî ba'tli gawâb ; astannak fim-maḥaṭṭa." 'Allo : "Tayyib !" Ba'd shwoyyet iyyâm ba'tlo wâhid gawâb : 'allo : "ana gai ;" wel-rhazil betâ' esh-Shâm istannâh fim-maḥaṭṭa. Lamma huwa waṣal henâk, sellim 'alêh, umishyû sawâ, el-rhazil betâ' Masr wehoma mashîn. El-rhazil betâ' Masr shâf wâhid(a) mara 'agûza betimlâ min el-bîr ; shadd el-ḥabl rama el-gerdal fil-bîr. Lamma râḥum fil-bêt betâ' 'l-rhazil betâ' 'sh-Shâm u'â'adin beaklum, 'allo : "akhî yâni warretnish el-rhazâla betâ'tak." 'Allo : "akhî wana mâshi le'êt mara betimla min el-bîr ; shiddet el-ḥabl, faḍl nâzil summa nâzil, nâzil summa nâzil." Lamma khalâs el-akl ba'dên 'âm. Gêt sebaht iyyâm, kûl yôm "nâzil, summa nâzil." El-rhazil betâ' esh-Shâm 'allo : "om, ya rhazil, min bêti : 'â'adt seba't iyyâm nâzil, summa nâzil ; maḥallet telûḥ (=terûḥ) tu'od 'ashera sinîn."

possible !' 'Forty-five *afarim*?' 'Impossible !' 'Fifty *afarim*?' 'You can have it.' The Turk said : 'Take (the payment) in your hand,' and gave him *afarim, afarim, afarim* (hurra ! hurra ! hurra !) till the fifty were complete. Then the Turk took the cow and went home. The peasant looked at his hand ; there was no money in it. He went to another man, and found he had a cow better than his own. So he asked : 'Will you sell the cow, O shèkh?' The other replied : 'I will.' 'For forty-five *afarim*?' 'Impossible !' 'For fifty *afarim*?' 'Impossible !' 'For fifty-five?' 'You can have it.' Thereupon he gave him fifty-five *afarim, afarim, afarim, afarim*. The peasant took the cow and departed. The other cried : 'Where are you going?' He said : 'To my house.' The other said : 'Where's the money?' He replied : 'I have given you fifty-five *afarim*.' Thereupon the other seized him and the cow, saying : 'You must go to the governor of the village.' The governor asked : 'What's the matter, fellow?' He answered : 'O Sir, I bought the cow from him, but he won't give it to me.' The governor asked : 'For how much did you buy it?' He replied : 'For fifty-five *afarim*.' The Turk exclaimed : 'You swine ! give the man his cow and take your own cow from indoors.'"¹

¹ Kân fî wâhid râgil Turki el-hâkim betâ' el-beled. Ba'dên râh es-sûq 'alashân yishtêri wâhid(a) baqara. Laqa wâhid fellâh ; 'ando wâhid baqara kuwaiyyis(a) ketîr ; qallo : "tebîha el-baqara?" qallo : "'shteri ;" qallo : "b'erbâ'in 'afarim?" qallo : "Yiftah Allah !" qallo : "khamisa warbâ'in?" qallo : "Yiftah Allah !" qallo : "khamisîn 'afarim?" qallo : "'llah yekassibak !" El-Turki qallo : "emsik fî idak." Uba'dên el-Turki iddêlo 'afarim, 'afarim, 'afarim, lihâd khamisîn 'afarim. El-Turki misik el-baqara werâh el-bêt betâ'o. Er-râgil, el-fallâh, yibuṣṣ fî ido, mâfish f'lûs. Râh l'wâhid râgil tâni ; laqa 'andu wâhid baqara aḥsan min el-baqara betâ'o. Ba'dên qallo : "tebîh el-baqara, ya shèkh?" Qallo : "abîha." Qallo : "khamisa warbâ'in 'afarim." Qallo : "yiftah Allah !" Qallo : "khamisa wekhamisîn?" Qallo : "'llah yekassibak !" eddilo khamisa wekhamisîn 'afarim—'afarim, 'afarim, 'afarim. Er-râgil misik el-baqara umîshi. Qallo : "Râh fên?" Qallo : "râh fî bêti." Qallo : "Fên el-felûs?" Qallo : "iddêtak khamisa wekhamisîn 'afarim." Ba'dên misikú wel-baqara. Qallo : "lâzim terûh 'and el-hâkim betâ' l-beled." Qallo : "khabar ê ya râgil?" Qallo : "ya sidi, an' ishtêrê minnu el-baqara ;

IX.

"There was a ferry, and the boat was full of people, as well as a buffalo. And then came a Christian with his donkey, and when the boat is in the middle of the river it sinks and all the people cry: 'The Christian's donkey makes the boat sink!'"¹

X.

"There was a sultan who was very stout, so that he was too stout to walk. Every doctor gives him medicine to make him thinner, but the medicine is of no use, so he cuts off their heads until (this had happened to) forty doctors. There is a poor peasant; he saw all the heads at the gate of the palace, and said to the porter: 'Why are all the heads hanging up in this way?' He answered: 'Because the sultan is ill; no doctor is of any good, so he cuts off his head.' The peasant said: 'Show me the sultan, and I will give him medicine.' The porter replied: 'Are you going, my good sir? he will cut off your head also.' The peasant answered: 'That doesn't matter; if I am of no good, he will cut off my head.' He was brought to the sultan, who asked him: 'Are you a doctor?' He answered: 'Yes, I am a doctor.' The sultan said: 'I want medicine which will make me grow thin; I can't stand or get up.' The peasant said: 'As for you, you will die in forty days' time.' The sultan said: 'Is it a fact that I shall die in forty days' time?' He answered: 'Yes.' Then the sultan ordered him to be thrown into prison. But every day the sultan grows a little thinner from excess of anxiety,

mûsh 'auz yiddâhanî." Qallo: "ishterêtha bekâm?" Qallo: "bekhamsa ukhamsîn afarim." Qallo: "ya kanzîr! iddi 'l-baqara betâ' 'r-râgil, wenta emsik el-baqara betâ'k min gûwa."

¹ Kân fî wâhid ma'dîya ukân melyân min en-nâs, ukân fî wâhid gamûsa; ubâ'dên ga wâhid Noşrânî bil-ḥomâra betâ'o, ubâ'dên lamm' em-merkeb râh fî wust el-bahr yighra', kûl en-nâs yekállimu: "el-ḥomâra betâ' 'n-Noşrânî yirherra' em-merkeb!"

until at the end of forty days he was able to walk as much as he wanted. Then he ordered the man to be brought to him; and he was brought. Then he said to him: 'The forty days are ended, but I don't die.' The peasant replied: 'Nevertheless you have grown thin.' So the sultan gave him plenty of *bakshîsh*."¹

XI.

"There is a man who was married to a (wife), but the man was terribly irritated by his wife. When he wanted to go to a place, she would say: 'I will go with you,' so (at last) out of irritation he told her that he was going on the pilgrimage to Mecca. She said: 'I will go with you too.' They marched along the road of pilgrimage till they came to a well. He said to her: 'I am going to get some water.' She replied: 'I will go with you too.' She went with him to the well; the man drank, went down into it first and filled a skin (with water); then she descended after him in order to drink; the man gives her a shove and she falls into the well. In the well was an *afrit* (demon); when the woman had descended into the well the *afrit* was irritated by her, and escaped out of it. The husband walks along a

¹ Kân fî wâhid sultân tikhîn ketîr, mayegdarsh yemshi 'alashân huwa tikhîn: kulle wâhid ḥakîm yiddilu dawa 'alashân yîgî naḥîf; ma-infash el-dawa; uba'dên yekassar râso birhâyit arbâ'yîn ḥakîm. Fî wâhid fellâḥ meskin: shâf kull er-rûs fil-bâb betâ' 's-serâya: kallim lil-bowâb: "'alashân ê 'r-rûs ma'alla'in kida?" 'âl: "'alashan es-sultân 'ayyân; kulle wâhid ḥakîm ma-infâshi, yeksar râso." 'allo: "'warrînî es-sultân waddîlo dawa." 'allo: "'râḥ, ya shêkh? yekassar râsak enta kamân;" 'al: "'ma'alesh; izakân ana manfash yekassar râsi." Waddûḥ 'and es-sultân. Es-sultân kallimmo: "'Enta ḥakîm?" 'allo: "'aiwa, an' ḥakîm." 'allo: "'auz dawa âgî naḥîf; magdarsh a'af, magdarsh a'ûm." 'allo: "'enta ba'd arbâ'in yôm lâzim temût." 'allo: "'Ṣaḥêḥ ba'd arbâ'in yôm an' amût?" 'allo: "'aiwa." Ba'dên kallim 's-sultan: "'Waddû fil-hebs!" Kûl yôm yîgî naḥîf shwoyya min kutr el-fîkr betâ'o lîrhâyit arba'in yôm es-sultân kan yegdar yemshi zê mo 'auz. Es-sultân kallim: "'Hât er-râgil hina;" gâbu er-râgil. 'Allo: arbâ'in yôm khalâs, lâkin ana mamûtish." 'Allo: "'Enta kamân gêt naḥîf." Uba'dên iddâlo bakshîsh ketîr.

road and met with an old man. He said to him : ' Good Sir, what sort of creature are you ? ' The other replied : ' I am an *afrît*. ' The husband asked : ' Where are you going ? ' The *afrît* answered : ' I have run away from a woman named Bakhtiya (Luck) ; I fell across her in the well ; I left the well and went off. But come with me, we will be friends ; we will go to the city, and I will enter the body of the Sultan's daughter and you shall act as doctor ; when you come to the palace, and sit in the palace, I will go out of her body ; she shall be as well as she was before, and then they will give you *bakshîsh* ; but afterwards I will next go into the body of the vizier's daughter ; you may come, but I won't go out of her, so don't come, for it would be better they should kill you. ' When they got to the city the *afrît* entered the body of the Sultan's daughter ; the man walked along the road crying : ' A physician ! I heal, I'm a healer ! ' When they heard him in the palace they called to him saying : ' Are you a clever physician ? ' ' Yes, ' he answered, ' a clever one. ' They said : ' This girl is very ill ; if you cure her, I will give you plenty of *bakshîsh*. ' He replied : ' Very well, ' and added : " I must stay in a room along with the girl and must have a sheep richly stewed. ' So he stayed in the palace three days, eating and drinking with great satisfaction, since he had had nothing to eat (previously). The *afrît* left the girl, and the girl became as well as she had been before, and they gave him *bakshîsh* and they gave him clothes. The *afrît* went into the vizier's daughter ; (so) the vizier sent to the sultan to ask for the physician. The physician went to the vizier's house, and the vizier said to him : ' If the girl is not cured I will cut off your head. ' The man sat in the room with the girl two or three days ; but the *afrît* did not rise up out of her ; so the man said : ' My brother, depart ! ' The *afrît* replies : ' No, I will not depart. ' Then the man asked the vizier to let him and the girl go into the garden ; when they had gone into the garden, and were staying there the

afrit rose up and sported before them, but did not depart. The man remembered his wife. He said to the *afrit*: 'Have you not heard the news?' The *afrit* replied: 'No.' He answered: 'Bakhtiya is looking for you!' When the *afrit* heard of Bakhtiya he vanished. (And) the girl became as well as she was before."¹

Comparatively few of the stories are ætiological, attempting to give explanations of names, words, and customs.

¹ Fî wâhid râgil mitgawwiz wâhida; lâkin er-râgil za'alân min m'râto ketîr. Kullimâ 'auz yerûh fi mutrah tekallim: "arûh wayyâk:" er-râgil min ez-za'l betâ'o kallimha: "ana râih el-Higâz." Qâlet: "arûh wayyâk kamân." Mishu fis-sikka fil-Higâz le'ande wâhid bîr. Qallaha: "ana râih agib umoïya;" qaletlo: "arûh wayyâk kamân." Râhet wayyâh lehadd el-bîr: er-râgil shirib, nizil awwalân, umala wâhida qirba; hiya nizilet ba'dih 'alashân tishrob; er-râgil yezuqqeha, yermaha fil-bîr: fil-bîr kân fi wâhid 'afrit: lamma nizilet emmara fil-bîr el-'afrit za'l minha waṭafash min el-bîr; mâshi fi wâhida sikka itqâbil way' agûz er-râgil; kallimmo: "ya shêkh, enta ginsak ê?" qallo: an' 'afrit;" qallo: "râih fên?" qallo: "ana ṭafshân min wâhida mara ismaha Bakhtiya; nizilt 'aleha fil-bîr; fâtet el-bîr um'shit; lâkin ta'âla wayyâya, nekûn ashâb; nerûh fil-medîna waneḥosh fil-gism bint es-sultân winta ta'mil ḥakim; lamma tigî fis-serâya wetuqod fis-serâya ana arûhe min el-gism; hiya tigî tayyiba zê el-awwal, uba'dên yiddûlak bakshish; lâkin fî âkhir iyyâm arûh ba'dên fig-gism betâ' bint el-wezîr; izakân tigî ana metlâ'shi; lâzim matgîsh, aḥsan yemawwetûk." Lamma waṣalu el-medîna el-'afrit dakhil fig-gism betâ' bint es-sultân; er-râgil mishi fis-sikka; yekallim: "ṭabîb adâwî, ana medâwî!" Lamma s'ma'u fis-serâya nadâhum 'alêh, qalulu "enta ṭabîb shâter?" qallu: "aiwa, shâter;" qalu: "el-binte-di 'ayyâna ketir; izakân teṭîb, addilak bakshish ketir;" qalluhum: "ṭaiyyib;" qalluhum: "ana 'auz astanna fî wâhid oda ana wel-bint, w' 'auz wâhid kharûf shâwirma:" istanna telât iyyâm fis-serâya, yâkul, yishrob mabsûṭ, ba'de ma kân gi'ân. El-'afrit râh min el-bint, wul-bint gât ṭayyiba zê el-awwal: uddûlu bakshish, uddûlu hudûm. El-'afrit râh fil-bint betâ' l-wezîr: el-wezîr ba't khabar lis-sultân 'alashân eṭ-ṭabîb: eṭ-ṭawbîb râh 'and el-wezîr: el-wezîr kallimmo: "izakân el-bint mûsh ṭayyiba aqta' râsak." Kallimmo: "ṭaiyyib." Kallimmo: "lâzim wâhid oda ana wel-bint": qa'd fil-oda huwa wel-bint etnên telâta yôm; el-'afrit makanshi yetla' min el-bint; er-râgil kallimmo: "Yâkhi, rûh!" El-'afrit yekallim: "la, ana maroḥshi;" er-râgil ṭalab min el-wezîr yerûhu fil-genêna howa wel-bint; lamma râhu fil-genêna westannu fil-genêna el-'afrit kan yetla' yil'ab qoddâmhum, lâkin makanshi yerûh. Er-râgil iftêker m'râto; qal lil-'afrit: "Enta m'andakshi khabar?" qallu: "la:" qallu: "Bakhtiya bedawwar 'alêk!" El-'afrit lamma s'ma' Bakhtiya ṭafash. El-bint gât ṭayyiba zê min qabla.

Here is one, however, which I heard last winter from my servant, Mustafa Ali:—

“Once there was a serpent of enormous size. The snake-hunters caught his wife and carried her away. Thereupon the serpent went to the court of the sultan, who was amazed to see such a huge snake appearing in his presence. He asked what the serpent wanted. But the serpent said nothing, and merely stood up. So the vizier suggested that all the snake-hunters should be fetched and ordered to bring their snakes with them. Accordingly they all came, and when the serpent saw his wife, he glided to her, and they kissed one another. Then they departed from the palace, but the serpent soon afterwards returned with a piece of pulp in his mouth which he presented to the sultan. The sultan could not make out what it was, but the serpent told him to put it in the ground. He did so, and up grew a water-melon (*battíkha*). This was the origin of the water-melon, and this is also the reason why snakes are so fond of the fruit. It is necessary to take and eat a water-melon as soon as it is cut, or else to tie the two parts of the section together, or to leave the knife in it, otherwise a snake will come and poison the fruit.”

To this may be added two more stories of the same class:—

“In the sea there lives a creature half fish and half woman, the woman’s half extending to the waist. When steamers were first invented they had no whistles, and orders were conveyed by word of mouth. But one day the order was shouted by the mermaid, and on its being replied to the pilot was told to lower his hand. The mermaid seized it immediately and dragged him into the water. Since then the steam-whistle has been employed.”

“The Jews have a peculiar smell, which originated as follows: Once a plague carried off all the men, leaving only the women alive. They went to the prophet to ask

what they were to do. He ordered them each to lie one night by the side of a corpse. They did so, and their offspring have ever since had a corpse-like smell."

The hot sulphur springs at Helwân, near Cairo, are accounted for by the following story, which was told me by a native of the place :—

"Solomon discovered a place underground from whence springs of water arose. So he made a great furnace there, appointing an *afrît* to feed it with fuel in order that the springs should always rise boiling to the surface of the ground. But the *afrît* was deaf, and when they came to him and said: 'Solomon is dead' (*Sulimân mât*), he replied: 'Bring dry fresh wood' (*Nâshif, țarî, hât!*). Accordingly the fire still continues to be fed and the spring to be hot."

This is but an adaptation of one of the many Jewish legends which found their way into Mohammedanism in the early days of its history, and upon which the Arab imagination has since played freely. They are frequently recounted by the Cairene story-tellers. Here, for example, are one or two others :—

"Nimrod wished to be worshipped as a god, and therefore the Lord sent a mosquito which buzzed in his brain, and tormented him day and night. His only relief was to have his head beaten with a hammer. At last he was advised to have his head cut off and replaced by another. He followed the advice and died."¹

"David, king of the Beni-Isrâil, had forty sons. They were all married on the same day. But on the night of the wedding they all died. When David learnt it in the morning, he said: 'It is the will of God.' So a prophet was sent to tell him that as he had been patient, a son

This legend is widely spread in the Mohammedan world, and is traceable to the ancient Babylonian Epic of Gilgames, in which the satyr Ea-bani is slain by a gadfly.

should be born to him cleverer and better than all the forty sons he had lost. Accordingly Solomon was born.”¹

“Pharaoh (*Fara’in*) was originally poor. He came to Cairo with water-melons and stood in the corner of a street offering them for sale. The policeman drove him away, but he made his peace with the policeman by giving him a melon. So he was allowed to stand in another place. The owner of a neighbouring house, however, came out and drove him away from it. To pacify the latter, he gave him another melon. This happened again and again, until all the melons were given away. Then he concluded that it was useless for him to remain in the city; so he took his cudgel (*nebbût*), which was as long as a palm-tree, and established himself in the desert behind Turra. When anyone died, he demanded half a piastre before he would allow the corpse to be buried in the desert, and the fee was paid from fear of his cudgel. One day the king’s daughter died, and as it was the daughter of the king he demanded two piastres from her brother. Thereupon he was taken and led before the king, who seeing that he was a giant with a big cudgel proposed to make him watchman (*rhafir*) of Cairo. He consented on condition that he should be allowed to kill with his cudgel whoever left his house after dark. After a time the king wished to see if Pharaoh was doing his duty, and accordingly disguised himself and went out after nightfall. He found Pharaoh asleep, but as he passed by the giant awoke, and not knowing that it was the king, killed him. So Pharaoh became King of Cairo in place of the king.”

I will now pass from stories to folk-lore of a more general kind, giving it as I have noted it down and leaving it to others to arrange it methodically.

¹ The story of the death of David’s sons on their wedding-night reminds us of the Greek myth of the murder of the Lemnians by their wives, on which see a very interesting paper by J. Darmesteter: “Cabires, Benê Elohim, et Dioscures,” in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, iv., 2 (1880).

It is dangerous to whistle after dark, as it attracts the snakes.

If a snake grows very old, wings develop on its body.

In the month of Amshir (February) the cats go courting: the female says to the tom-cat "Dâûd!" and he replies "Dawâba!"

A kitten's ears are slit to prevent its being afraid of people.

Every time a donkey trespasses on a neighbour's crops and eats them, a piece is cut out of its ear.

If a drop of water enters the ear of a donkey or horse the animal will die.¹

An afrît whispered in the ear of the donkey: "All the females are dead!" "Who has said so?" "Hush, hush, hush! one remains." "All right, all right!" Hence the donkey always brays.²

Boys say of the water-wagtail (*Abu-fasâda*): Before it is captured, it struts and says: "El-wirk minni yimla ed-dûr," (My thigh fills the floor.) After it is captured it says: "Esh minni? Lo'met êsh aḥsan minni." (What is there of me? A morsel of bread is better than me.)

If a man drinks of the water of the Nile when it is smooth, he will become perfectly strong and free from disease.

If the horn of a rhinoceros is rubbed against the inside of a glass or cup, the water poured into the latter becomes an antidote to all kinds of poison.

Whoever sees the new moon for the first time should look at a piece of money, a pretty face, the river, or something that is similarly bright and pleasant, if he wishes to have good luck.

¹ Cf. p. 456. ED.

² Wâḥid 'afrît washwash fî widn el-ḥomâr: "kûl en-nitâyât mâtum!" "Min 'âl?" "Eskut, eskut, eskut: faḍlet wâḥida." "Tayyib, tayyib!" Alashân di el-ḥomâr dâiman yi'ayyaṭ.

In the early spring the sun makes a wedding breakfast ; then he begins to descend, and it becomes hot.¹

The fellâhin call the rainbow " the two swords," red and green ; the red sword brings rain, the green sword takes it away.

It is unlucky to marry or give a wedding breakfast on Tuesdays and Saturdays, or to drink milk on Wednesdays.

No one marries in the month Moharrem ; to do so would be wrong.

At the time of the Arabi war, the Nubians were detected in Cairo by being made to pronounce *hommus* (roasted pease), which they called *khommus*.

If a boy has freckles or a mole, it is a sign that he will be a good man.

To spill coffee on oneself is lucky. If a small globe of bubbles appears on the surface of a cup of coffee after it has been poured out, it is called *şurra* (money-bag), and it is said to the person to whom the coffee is given : " You will have money " (*yîgî-lak felûs*).

It is unlucky to meet a beardless person the first thing in the morning.

If the right hand itches, it is a sign of luck, and that money will come ; if the left hand itches, ill-luck will follow.

A man feels cold from his head to the lower part of the trunk, a woman from the lower part of the trunk to the feet.

If the husband loves the wife more than she loves him all the children will be girls ; if the converse is the case all the children will be boys.

"Harr el-khamasîn aḥâd min sikakîn;" (The heat of the *khamasîn* is sharper than knives ;) said of the hot winds of spring.

If one chokes oneself, it is said: " Min mâsik sirti?" (Who is talking of me ?)

¹ Compare the story of " the Table of the Sun " in Ethiopia, given by Herodotos, iii., 17, 18 ; also Pomponius Mela, iii., 15.

If a crumb of bread falls, it is said: "Who is hungry?"

There were three men, one wearing shoes, one wearing a waistcoat, the third wearing a signet-ring. They came across a dead man. The first said (stretching out the foot and touching the body with his shoe): "Who killed him?" The second (putting his hand on his waistcoat): "I." The third (stretching out his hand so that his ring could be seen): "Throw him out of the way."¹

The cat once saw some meat hanging up, and jumped again and again to get it. On finding it was out of reach she turned away, saying: "The meat is putrid."

"Iftakarna 'l-qoṭṭa, gâna yenotṭ:" (We thought of the cat, at once it jumped in.)

"Rhâb el-qoṭṭ, il'ab ya fâr:" (The cat's away, O mouse play!)

"Yemût weyiṣṣa zê el-qoṭṭat beseba't irwâḥ," (He dies and wakes up like the cats with seven lives.)

Ṣinân means a dirty fellow whose arm-pits smell and cause sore eyes in those who come near him.

There is a marble column in the Gâma' et-Tergumân ("the Dragoman's Mosque") in the Darb et-Terguman near the Shar'a Clot-Bey, Cairo, which those who suffer from a pain or disease in the breast lick in order that they may be cured.

In the mosque of 'Amr at Old Cairo are two columns near the southernmost door. Once a wicked man tried to pass between them, but they closed upon him, and opened again only after intercession had been made to God.

In the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 3rd series, No. 2 (1891), pp., 250-267, Yacoub Artin Pasha has published a very interesting Paper on the rhymes attached to the

¹ Kân fî telâta rigâl mashîn, wâḥid labis merkûb, wâḥid labis wâḥid sidêrî, et-tâlit labis khitm. Laqu wâḥid maiyit. El-awwal qâl (stretching out the foot and touching the body with his shoe): "Min mawwet dâ?" Et-tâni (putting his hand on his waistcoat): "Ana." Et-tâlit (stretching out his hand so that his ring could be seen): "Ermûh barra."

Coptic months, which are still used in the popular calendar. To those which he has collected I can add one more: it is said of Tûba or January: "Mâ tekhalli el-'agûza kerkûba," (Let not the old woman leave her bit of furniture.) That is to say, it is too cold to part with any furniture however poor.

It is said of the fish called *binni* (the oxyrrhinchus of the ancients, which was sacred at Esna): "ana 'l-binni; in tilqa aḥsan minni, mâtakûlni," (I am the binni; if you find anything better than me, don't eat me.)

The cock says: "bêḍ wurrhûf," (make loaves of eggs); the kite says: "b'elf," (for a thousand piastres); the crow says: "bess el-qobḍ," (there's only the cashing); the dog concludes: "belâ hels," (without any nonsense).

Nursery rhymes:—"Dêl el-qoṭṭa fât; Weddêlo seba' lifât," (The cat's tail has passed by; give it seven twists!)

The moth says to the candle: "En-nâr walâ 'âr" (the fire or disgrace).

"Yôm el-ḥadd, makallimshi ḥadd; yôm el-etnên, akallim etnên," (Sunday I will tell no one; Monday I will tell two.)

"Abû-qirdân zara' feddân, Nuṣṣo melûkhîya wenuṣṣo bedingân," (The stork sowed an acre, half of it with corchorus olitorius, and half of it with egg-plant.)

Said to the fingers of children: (1) taking first the little finger, "saraq el-bêḍa," (it has stolen the egg); (2) taking the third finger, "shawâha," (it has grilled it); (3) taking the middle finger, "qashshar-ha," (it has shelled it); (4) taking the first finger, "'kâlu," (it has eaten it); (5) taking the thumb, "iddînî wâḥida ḥetta walâ akallim ṣaḥbu," (give me a piece or I will tell its owner); "lâ, mûsh 'auz," (no, I won't); (6) clapping the hands together, "ḍarabû bil-kaff," (they have given him a slap).

In the villages, the boys during the day play a game called *maḍrab* with small balls, bats and the hands; at night when the moon shines, they play a game called *khala*

with a large ball as big as a foot-ball, which is made of leather and twisted rope. This is tied to a string and kicked from one party to the other with hockey sticks and the feet. Each party consists of four boys. Another game is to run after other boys; the one who is caught is ridden by the catcher until he can catch another player.

A favourite Egyptian game with the backgammon board is *galb el-hurr*, which is much more complicated than the ordinary *taula* or "backgammon." The players start from opposite ends of the board, each putting five men on the extreme point to the right, but on his adversary's side of the board, the point next to the left counting "one," the next counting "two," and so on up to "six," which is represented by the extreme point on the right of the second table (that on the left side of the player). A point which is occupied by a man belonging to one of the players cannot be played on by the other. If odd numbers are thrown the play is as in ordinary backgammon; when five and three, for instance, are thrown, either a man is put on each of the points which represent five and three, or the men already on the board are advanced three and five points to the left. Doublets, however, are counted in a peculiar way. Double one is called *abiak*, double two *dubâra*, double three *dôsa*, double four *dûrgi*, double five *davash*, and double six *dûsh*. If *abiak* is thrown the thrower first plays four ones, then four twos, then four threes, and so on up to four sixes. If *dubâra* is thrown he first plays four twos, then four threes, and so on as before. The object of the player is to occupy as many points as possible so as to prevent his adversary from advancing on them; if his adversary cannot play, he plays instead. Each player tries to advance his men from the table in which they are first put upon the board to the table opposite it, *i.e.* the table from which the other player has started; as soon as all the men belonging to one of the players are in this table they are played off according to the throws. If five and three are thrown, for instance, a

man will be played off from the fifth and third point if they are covered. If they are not covered by a man, and there are men on points in advance of them (six in case of five; six, five, and four in case of three) a man must be played toward the right five or three points. In playing off, the points in the table count 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and not 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, as at the commencement. Whoever plays off his men first wins the game. Doublets are played as in the earlier part of the game.

The sailors on a Nile-boat, when they haul up the anchor, sing: "Ya Abbâsî, hokmak qâsî" (O Abbasi, your rule is cruel).

When they haul the ropes they invoke "saint" Isa, because they once asked her to give them some rice; she went to fetch it but has never returned, and so they have to live on lentils.

A good deal of the ground in Egypt is enchanted (*arḍ marṣûd*), and when this is the case it is useless to dig in it for ancient treasures, as they will be concealed from the digger. As fast as the treasure-seeker excavates, the treasure sinks into the ground away from him. Much of the land at Karnak and on the west bank of the river at Thebes is thus enchanted.

On the ground now occupied by the palace between Old Helwân and Ma'sara near Cairo, some forty years ago the owner was ploughing, when the plough struck against something, and a voice was heard coming out of the ground and saying: "Take away the plough, or I will take away thy head!" The ploughman was naturally seized with terror and ran away with his plough.

About the same time, some of the people in Old Helwân began to dig at night for treasure in a certain place near the village. All night long they worked, and ceased only just before daybreak. But when the sun rose, they found that the earth was again filled in, and that the ground was exactly as it had been before. This happened night after

night, until at last the treasure-seekers gave up their fruitless labours in despair,

The belief in the enchanted character of the ancient monuments of the country, and of the ground on which they stand, is illustrated by some stories I have heard from natives of Karnak at Thebes. It is believed that a golden boat, manned by golden sailors, floats every night on the sacred lake of the ancient temple. In this legendary boat we have a tradition of the gilded vessel of Amon-Ra, in which the image of the god was ferried over the waters of the sacred lake on the days of festival, and which still survives in the boat which is carried in procession every year through the streets of Luxor at the festival of the Mohammedan saint Abû 'l-Haggâg, who has taken the place of Amon-Ra. Once I was told a man passing by the sacred lake of Karnak saw the boat moored to the shore, and seized the peg to which its rope was fastened, as well as the wooden mallet used for driving the peg into the ground, which happened to be lying beside it. Immediately after he had done so the boat disappeared from view. But he found that both the peg and the mallet were of gold, the sale of which made him a rich man. He is still alive, and in consequence of his discovery is one of the wealthiest fellahîn in the village.

At an earlier period the captain of a Nile-boat which was filled with a cargo of lentils, was stopping at the bank below the temple of Karnak, when he was accosted by a beggar, who asked for an ardeb (5·44 bushels) of lentils. The request was refused, and the beggar then asked for half an ardeb, then for a quarter of an ardeb, and finally for a kaila (3·63 gallons); but the captain of the boat was too niggardly to give him anything. At last, however, wearied by his importunity, he told the beggar he might take the leavings of the cargo in the hold of the boat. When the beggar had collected them he gave the captain a paper, and told him to go to the Bâb el-'Abd, or "Gate of the

Negro," a name given by the natives to the Ptolemaic pylon beyond the temple of Amonhotep III., on the north side of the temple of Karnak. He was instructed to knock three times, when a negro would appear and ask him what he wanted. He was to say: "O Morgânî, see this paper," and to hand it to him. The captain put the paper in his pocket and forgot all about it; but some time afterwards, remembering the injunctions he had received, he went to the pylon and knocked at it three times. The negro appeared, and upon receiving the paper ushered the man into a spacious chamber filled with gold. Then he took a measure and measured out to the visitor exactly the amount of gold that equalled the amount of the lentils given to the beggar. The man begged for an ardeb of it, but the negro told him that he had refused to give the beggar the ardeb of lentils and accordingly could have no more gold. So he was turned out again into the outer world, exclaiming: "Would that I had given him twenty ardebs!"

The negro was one of the many kinds of spirits and supernatural visitants in whom the modern Egyptian believes. One of these is the *kabûs* or "nightmare," which throws itself heavily on a sleeper, preventing him from moving or opening his eyes, and which disappears as soon as he awakes. Another is the *mezaiyyara*, which is dressed in white and has the appearance of a beautiful lady. It salutes a solitary traveller at night, and after it has fascinated him by its conversation, seizes him in its arms and strangles him.¹

Closely allied to the *mezaiyyara* is the water-spirit. One of these inhabits the water on the south side of the English Bridge (called the Kûbri el-'Ama by the natives), on the road from Cairo to Giza, and drowns all those who

A reference is made to it by Professor Vollers in the Z. D. M. G., xlv., 3, pp. 343 sqq.

bathe there or even come near the water's edge. Last year (1897) I received a note one day from Bewley Bey, asking me to send a sailor to fetch the body of a man who had just been drowned out of the water, as none of his servants or policemen could swim. I thought this strange, but my sailors absolutely refused to go, and told me that a spirit frequented the spot, which had caused the death of the drowned man, and would drown anyone else who ventured into the water. The previous winter, a policeman who was on duty at the place saw a woman hanging about the bridge in the dusk of the evening and ordered her off. Thereupon she took hold of him and began dragging him towards the water. "So he knew what it was," and with some difficulty succeeded in shaking himself free, and rushed into the neighbouring police-station more dead than alive. None of the policemen ventured out of the station the rest of the night.

Another supernatural being is the *ginna*. My servant, Mustafa Ali, once saw a *ginna* when he was a boy and served as a waiter at the Helwân Hotel. As he had never visited the cliffs on the east side of the desert, he persuaded the other servants to go with him to them one night. On the way, they suddenly saw a bright light in the distant cliffs, which flashed in different directions, and rose to a great height, after a while vanishing into the ground. It was evidently a *ginna*, so they all fled back to Helwân, and Mustafa's desire to explore the desert was completely satisfied.

About fifteen years ago there was a man in Cairo who was unmarried, but had an invisible *ginna* as wife. One day, however, he saw a woman and loved her, and two days later he died. It should be added that in Egypt, where early marriages are the rule, bachelors who have reached the prime of life are believed to be married to '*afârit* or *ginn*.

The '*afârit*, or "*afrîts*," include all sorts and conditions

of supernatural beings of an uncanny nature, except the *ginn*, and they are always harmful, though some are more dangerous than others. The term is sometimes used of a demon or devil, sometimes of what we should call a ghost. Thus, if a man is murdered, his *afrît* rises from the ground where his blood has been shed. It can, however, be prevented from doing so by driving a new nail which has never been used into the ground at the spot where the murder has been committed.

Similarly, if an *afrît* haunts a place where there is a stain of blood, it can be laid by driving an iron nail through the mark of the blood.

The pyramids of Giza are at present haunted by the *afrît* of a British soldier who was killed by falling down one of them in 1882, and whose eyes are described as looking like "globes of fire." The road in front of a pumping engine near the palace of Giza (which is now removed) was haunted by the *afrît* of a man who had been killed by the machinery, and which kept on repeating the last words he had said.

When my servant Mustafa was a boy, a palm-tree at Old Helwân was haunted by the *afrît* of a man who had fallen from it and been killed.

At the southern end of the island of Roda at Cairo is a deserted house, which no one will inhabit because it is haunted by an *afrît*, and at the northern end of the same island is a kiosk which is deserted for the same reason.

An *afrît*, however, can be turned out of a haunted house by placing a little bread and salt in it.

On the other hand an *afrît* is also a demon, and the cause of demoniac possession. An *afrît*, for instance, who possessed a woman in Cairo a few years ago, caused her to cry "stretch my feet and hands!" until she was tired. At last a shêkh, "who was a good man, walking uprightly and able to read," compelled the *afrît* to leave her by tying her thumbs and great toes together; the *afrît* asked to be

allowed to come out of her through the eyes, but this was not allowed; then through the hands, but this also was forbidden; and finally it came out through the little toe, which was broken.

Mustafa's mother was possessed by an *afrît* whenever she was irritated, which caused her to laugh immoderately.

The *afrîts* do no harm to those who are not afraid of them. When my servant Mustafa was a waiter in the hotel at Helwân he one day sent an under-servant into the cellar with a candle, in order to get some bottles of wine. He waited a long time, but the man did not return. On going to see what was the matter he found the cellar empty and a bottle of wine lying broken upon the ground. The man explained that just as he was stooping to get the bottle an *afrît* blew the candle out and grasped his arms; he rushed away in his terror, and nothing would induce him to return to the cellar. "I am a boy," said Mustafa, "and you are a man, yet I am not afraid to go there," and he accordingly got the wine that was necessary, "for as long as you are not afraid you will never be hurt by an *afrît*."

An *afrît*, however, seems often to be little more than a sort of mischievous Puck. Mustafa's father, for example, had a mill for grinding corn attached to his house at Old Helwân; at night an *afrît* would come and turn the handle of the mill, and so injure it, as no corn was underneath to be ground. One night his father put his head out of the window and saw the *afrît*, which immediately disappeared, since "an *afrît* does not like to be seen." When there was no light and the ox was grinding the corn, the *afrît* would come, unloose the animal from the mill, and take it outside. One night during the summer, when Mustafa was sleeping with his older relatives in the court outside the house on account of the heat, his aunt saw the *afrît* pass along the wall, with its arms extended, into the *mandara* or reception-room beyond; but when his father took a light and went to see what was there, nothing was visible.

Mustafa knew an old blind *fiqî* or schoolmaster at Helwân, named Shêkh Khalîfa, whose duty it was to call to prayers. One night an *afrît* came to him, and pretending to be a man, told him that he must go at once to the minaret. So he set off for the mosque, but when he took hold of the *afrît's* hand in order to be led there, he perceived what it was. He was not, however, afraid, and would not let it go, saying: "You must come to the canal (which then ran east of Old Helwân) and catch fish for me." Accordingly the *afrît* was dragged to the canal and there compelled to spend the night in catching fish and throwing them up on the bank, while the schoolmaster kept groping about until he had picked up as many as he could carry. After a time the *afrît* grew tired of his work and begged to be released, but this was not allowed until the whole of the bank was covered with the fish, and the *afrît* had been made to lead the *fiqî* back to his house. "For if one is afraid of an *afrît* the *afrît* has power over the man; but if one is not afraid, the man has power over the *afrît*." Next morning the villagers stared with astonishment at the hundreds of fish which strewed the bank, and carried them off to their homes.

One of the villagers of Helwân was riding on his donkey back from Cairo, just before the Bairam feast, with some rice which he had bought. On the way he saw a fine sheep, apparently ownerless, and he thought its flesh would be good to mix with the rice. So he seized it and slung it over the donkey's back, holding it by the leg. When he approached the village the dogs began to bark, and he noticed to his horror that the sheep's leg began to grow longer and longer. Then he knew that it was an *afrît* which had assumed the form of a sheep, and in his fright he let go the leg, leaped off the donkey, and ran for his life. Luckily for him the dogs were barking close by, so the *afrît* could not catch him. But as he ran away it cried after him: "Ṭuzz, yâbû-Fâris, 'auz tâkul kharûf

weruzz" (Pshaw, Abu-Faris ; so you want to eat sheep and rice !).

The '*afârit* or *afrîts* usually appear only at night, but in some instances they show themselves during the day. Thus, in the cliff a little to the south of Tehna, a Coptic village of Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile to the north of Minia, there is a large cave over which is an inscription in Greek letters. The inscription is dated in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanês, and we gather from it that the cave was consecrated to Isis Mokhias. Once when I was visiting the place, the son of the *omda* or head-man of the village, who happened to be with me, told me that the cave was inhabited by a very dangerous *afrît*. If a solitary traveller or a bad man passed it during the day, the *afrît* would come out of the cavern and kill him. At night, no one ventured to pass the spot, as the *afrît* would then kill all the passers-by, even if they were good men and were walking in company.

I heard from an engineer at Damanhûr, in the Delta, that whenever he sat down to eat a white cat appeared ; he used to give it food, and then it disappeared again. One night, when he was travelling in the dark, he was attacked by robbers, and would have been robbed, and perhaps murdered, had not the white cat suddenly appeared and "struck" them so that he was able to escape. Then he knew that it was an *afrît*, and was careful ever afterwards to give it food when it appeared to him at his meals. In this case the *afrît* assumes the form of a protecting genius rather than of a harmful demon, and it is worth noting that there is a widespread belief among the Egyptians that the souls of twins when they die pass into the bodies of cats.

For the curious superstitions connected with snakes, and the modern survival of the ancient serpent-worship, I must refer to my article on "Serpent-worship in Ancient and Modern Egypt" in the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1893. Here I have described the worship still paid to the

serpent-saint of Gebel Shêkh Herîdî and the miracles supposed to be wrought by him, as well as the *harrâs* or "guardian" snake which still protects the house of the native from harm.

I will conclude this somewhat desultory paper with a description of the festival of Abu Sîrya at Helwân, and of two or three personal experiences of my own. Abu Sîrya has succeeded a local deity who was probably a form of Ptah, and his festival has taken the place of that of the ancient god. On its occurrence, the natives of the village go into the desert on horses and camels, each family taking a sheep with it, and marching continuously until they reach the foot of the hill on the top of which is the tomb of the shêkh or saint. Here the sheep are allowed to go free, and they make their way to the shêkh's tomb, the people following behind. At the tomb each picks out his own sheep, which is then slain and eaten; if a sheep is missing the person who claims it is believed to have stolen it, and accordingly to have been deprived of it by the shêkh. After the sheep are eaten Bedâwin women brandish swords, and endeavour to remove with them the turbans of the spectators, or else lay the swords on their fezzes. Whoever succeeds in doing this receives a *bakshish* from the man who has been stripped of his turban or has had the sword laid upon his fez.

I now pass on to some experiences of my own in 1892, when my dahabia had been hauled upon the shore in order that various alterations and improvements might be made in it. The day before it was launched I was required to provide a sheep, which was sacrificed for luck, the throat being cut so that some of the blood fell upon the side of the vessel, and the rest of it upon the deck. The carcass was eaten by the workmen. Had the sheep not been sacrificed according to immemorial custom, it would have been difficult for me to have got sailors, as they would have considered that the vessel was destined to be unlucky.

When the dahabia was launched it was found to be too

heavy to be pushed down the slip in the usual fashion by the hundred and odd men who had been hired for the purpose. So the engineer who was superintending the work ordered machinery to be brought, adding: "It is too heavy to be pushed." Whereupon I overheard one of the men who had been hired to push it saying to his neighbour: "That is not the reason; there is an *afrit* underneath."

I had procured a painter from Alexandria, who was therefore rather a "superior person," and as soon as the boat was in the water I told him he might begin to paint it the following day. That, he replied, was impossible. When I asked why, he said that the next day was Wednesday, when it was unlucky to begin anything. Thursday, however, was the luckiest day in the week, and if the painting were begun that day all would go well. On the Thursday, accordingly, the work was commenced.

Since the above was written I have heard many other stories, including one (that of a man who understood the language of animals, and thereby learnt how to manage a too inquisitive wife), which occurs in the *Introduction* to the *Arabian Nights*. This is an interesting point, as all knowledge of the *Nights* is ignored by orthodox Mohammedanism, and neither Spitta Bey nor Artin Pasha came across any clear traces of acquaintance with the book. Three others I will add to my paper by way of postscript. The first of them is as follows:—

"Once upon a time the donkey and the camel grew tired of their servitude and ran away from their master. They hid themselves in the desert, and the camel said to the donkey: 'We had better separate, since if you make a noise our hiding-place will be discovered.' But the donkey replied: 'Don't be afraid, I shall be quite silent.' The villagers went to look for them, and while they were searching for them the donkey said: 'I shall split if I don't open my mouth a little.' Thereupon he gave such a loud bray that the people were attracted to their hiding-place and

drove them back to the village. On the way the donkey pretended to be lame and unable to walk. So they put him on the back of the camel. Soon afterwards they came to a place where the path was very narrow and a ledge of rock overhung the road, and the camel not liking his load, passed under it, so that the donkey was pushed off his back and fell with all his bones broken into the path. While he lay dying the camel said to him: 'Why did you not keep quiet?' "

Here is another story—of a somewhat sceptical tendency, it is to be feared—in which the donkey figures:—

"Once upon a time, a *fellah* found that his donkey was eating all the food of his ox, and that the ox therefore was being starved to death. So he said: 'Would to God the donkey would die!' Next morning he found the ox dead. A *Bedâwi* passed by; he asked him: 'What will you give for this dead donkey!' 'It is not a donkey,' said the *Bedâwi*, 'but an ox.' 'No,' said the *fellah*, 'this is a donkey.' 'Don't laugh at me,' said the *Bedâwi*, 'it is an ox.' 'Wallah!' said the *fellah*, 'to think that a *Bedâwi* can distinguish between an ox and a donkey, while *Rabbûna* (God) can't!'"

My third story has evidently been concocted by the Cairenes at the expense of the fellahin:—

"Three lads were walking, walking, when they fell across a horseshoe in the road. One kicked it with his foot, and said: 'What is this?' The other said: 'What is this?' The third said: 'We will go to the village and ask Abu Mohammed.' So they went to Abu Mohammed's house, and knocked at the door. 'Who is there?' said he. 'We are come to ask you what *this* is,' said they. 'You don't know?' 'No, we don't know.' 'Poor fellows, poor fellows! This is the old new moon (*el-hilâl el-qadîm*) which has been cast off.' "

REVIEWS.

THE THOMPSON INDIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. By JAMES TEIT. Edited by FRANZ BOAS. Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History. Vol. II., Anthropology. The Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

A SHORT time since I reviewed in these pages Dr. Boas' monograph on *The Mythology of the Bella Coola*. Another of the publications of the Jesup Expedition is now before me. Complete in itself, and forming no insignificant part of the results of that expedition, it is also supplementary to Mr. Teit's admirable collection of *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, published in 1898 by the American Folklore Society.

The tribe of the Thompson River was formerly called Couteau or Knife Indians. It is a branch of the Salishan stock. Since the settlement of British Columbia it is of course decreasing in numbers, and a few years will probably see its extermination, owing principally to the ravages of epidemic diseases introduced by Europeans, and to consumption. The present work, therefore, offers the best account we can hope to get of the social condition, arts, and superstitions of an interesting people. The author begins with an account of the physical and mental characteristics of the tribe. He then passes to its manufactures, the houses and households, clothing and ornaments, subsistence, including of course the manner of obtaining it and the instruments employed, trade, travel, and transportation, warfare, games and pastimes, sign-language, social organisation and festivals, the principal epochs of life, birth, childhood, puberty, marriage and death, religion, medicine, charms and current beliefs; and Dr. Boas himself contributes a final chapter on the art of the tribe, and sums up the evidence as to the general culture of the people, its character and the influences which have made it what it is.

The bare enumeration of these subjects exhibits the importance of the work to students of folklore. It is profusely illustrated both

with cuts in the text and with plates from photographs. Containing as it does a minute account of what is much harder to obtain than the details of art and implements, namely, the ceremonial and superstitions, it could not have been written save by one who was intimately acquainted with his subject, and whose observation, tact, and judgement had been continuously directed to it for a considerable period.

The Thompson Indians recognise blood-relationship on both sides ; but there are traces, indistinct and uncertain perhaps, of mother-right as a stage through which they have passed. The commonest form of marriage, for instance, is that in which the overtures are made by the girl's parents ; and temporarily in all forms the young couple have to live with the bride's family. One form, however, seems to have resulted in their living permanently with the bride's relatives. It is perhaps the oldest of all forms, that by touching. In that form marriage was constituted by the simple act of one party touching the other on the naked body. Special opportunity was given for this at some of the festivals, but it might apparently be done at any time. This kind of marriage is now out of use.

Trace of clans and totems there is none. The organisation is of the loosest kind. It seems to have rested on the family, that is to say, the whole body of persons who could trace their descent from a common ancestor. They possessed certain names which no one else was permitted to use, and they were bound to avenge one another's deaths. As a matter of fact the tribe is distributed in village communities ; but these are shifting bands, their strength, so far as I can gather, depending from time to time upon the will of the individuals or families constituting them. Nor had the tribe any formal, still less hereditary, chiefs, though wise or wealthy men were influential.

In these circumstances we cannot wonder that the mythology of the tribe was vague and unorganised. As it is set before us in the present work and in the *Traditions*, there is no hint of a Creator ; but the Raven and the Coyote, who figure so largely in the myths of the North-Western tribes, play a part defined by Dr. Boas as that of transformers. They are, between them, accountable for giving the world much of its present shape and peculiarities ; and but for the advent of Europeans, they were perhaps on their way to becoming something more like what we should call gods.

A number of disconnected beings, such as the Wind, the Thunderbird, the Sun, the Moon, as well as a race of giants and of dwarfs, shared the beliefs of the people. "It would seem," writes Mr. Teit, "that only the sun, the dawn of the day, the rain, tops of mountains, certain lakes, the spirit of sweat-bathing, and perhaps also the Old Man, can in any way be considered as tribal deities. All the others" (that is, all other beings to whom anything like prayer was offered) "were guardian spirits that were individually acquired." The Old Man was a personage who resided in high mountains, and made rain or snow by scratching himself and otherwise. He is sometimes called the Chief, the Great Chief, or the Big Mystery. He is gifted with a supreme power of magic, is a "transformer like the Coyote, and, like him, is expected to return and to bring good and happy days for the Indians. So far as I can learn he was not made an object of prayer, and, like the Coyote, was not held in particular reverence." It is evident that such a being contained many possibilities, only they were not developed.

The belief in guardian spirits individually acquired at puberty is prominent. Coupled with the absence of totems, it demands a searching inquiry into the groundwork of the religion of the North-Western tribes, and indeed of the American race in general. The generalisations of the past thirty years on the subject of savage religion, it is evident, must be reconsidered in the light of these and other facts made manifest by more recent research. I have no space to refer to the many other subjects of interest disclosed in these pages. I can only congratulate Mr. Jesup on the valuable material obtained in such profusion by the expedition which he has fitted out, and again commend this and the other volumes comprising it to the attention of my fellow-students.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM. BULLETIN, Vol. III., No. I.
Anthropology. Notes on some of the people of Malabar;
Mala Védars of Travancore; Miscellanea. With six plates.
Madras: Government Press. 1900.

THREE years ago the Madras Government Museum began the issue of Bulletins under the editorship of the curator, Mr. Edgar

Thurston. Most of the Bulletins issued up to the present time have been devoted to the anthropology of Southern India. This is a most useful work, inasmuch as the anthropology of Southern India, though not less interesting and valuable from a scientific point of view than that of Northern and Central India, has received much less attention. The first number of vol. iii. is chiefly occupied by a careful series of notes, almost amounting to a monograph, by Mr. F. Fawcett, on the Nambútiris of Malabar. The Nambútiris are a special and exclusive caste of Brahmans, and Mr. Fawcett's inquiries lead to a more favourable view of their mental and physical character than has been generally entertained. He believes their religion to be not a degraded form of Brahmanism, "but rather an elevated form of the earlier Dravidian religion—a very different thing." Reference must be made to the pages of the Bulletin for such details (and they are by no means few) as Mr. Fawcett has been able to collect of their beliefs and ceremonies, and their relations with the Nair (or as he prefers to spell it, Nayar) women—the latter a subject first discussed by the late Mr. McLennan.

Mr. Thurston was himself the writer of most of the earlier numbers of the Bulletin. He is aiming high, and is to be congratulated on the success which has hitherto attended his efforts. The Bulletin ought to be appreciated by students. The numbers can be obtained in this country at a nominal price through any agent for the sale of the Madras Government publications.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE WELSH PEOPLE. Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics. by JOHN RHYS and D. BRYNMÔR-JONES. T. Fisher Unwin. 1900.

THE present work makes no special appeal to British folklorists, but contains much that is of profound interest for them. The historical chapters, brief and somewhat disconnected as they are, give a more faithful and scholarly record of Welsh events than can be found elsewhere. The History of Welsh Land Tenure, chiefly due to Mr. F. Seebohm, will be found very useful by the student

of agricultural institutions in discriminating the various strata of law and custom to be noted in Wales. Chapter VI., the Ancient Laws and Customs of Wales, gives a sound and scholarly survey of the subject; but it suffers from failure to use the comparative method, and it advances our knowledge of the real nature of these laws and their relation to Aryan Custom in general, less than might reasonably have been expected. The most novel and suggestive point made is that which regards Howel's laws as part of a general codifying movement initiated by the legislation of Charlemagne. It is noted that the organisation of the Welsh royal household resembles that created by Charlemagne, itself, in all likelihood, more or less based on that of the Byzantine Court.

The most disappointing chapter from our point of view is that on Language and Literature. The many problems involved in the mythico-romantic literature of Mediæval Wales are passed over in complete silence, nor is much light thrown upon the origin and history of such a characteristic Welsh institution as the *Eisteddfod*.

That portion of the book, however, to which folklore students will turn most eagerly deals with the Ancient Ethnology of Wales. It has all the charm and fascination of Principal Rhys' work, the wide knowledge, the suggestive insight, the reconstructive daring we know so well.

All the more is it to be regretted that the author so frequently leaves us in doubt as to which of the alternative hypotheses he provides is really favoured by him. Briefly speaking, his position is as follows. The Celtic (Aryan) element is twofold: (*a*) Goidelic, resulting from a Celtic invasion of the British Isles which took place probably in the 6th century B.C., and which imposed in part its speech and customs upon the non-Aryan aborigines; (*b*) Brythonic, resulting from a Celtic invasion of the 4th—2nd centuries. The Brythons drove the Goidels westwards, forcing the majority into Ireland, but the north and south of Wales remained predominantly Goidelic down to the 6th century of our era, shortly before which time the Brythonic element was reinforced from the north by the invasion of Cunedda and his sons, who definitely Brythonised present Wales and established the polity which lasted until the Anglo-Norman conquest of the 13th century. Both varieties of Celtic speech have been strongly influenced by the aboriginal non-Aryan language, this influence being of course strongest in the case of the Goidels

The Picts of history most probably represent the aboriginal race ; were almost certainly non-Aryan, and lived in a quasi-matriarchal stage of society which reacted back upon the customs and legends of their Goidelic conquerors. The population of Wales is in the main, as is indeed that of the British Isles generally, and still more that of France, derived from the pre-Celtic stock.

The chronological postulates of this scheme seem to me extremely questionable, especially if an hypothesis, to which (p. 792) the author seems to give a half-hearted assent, be admitted : namely, that the word *Pict*, representing a Latin shot at the aboriginal name, was mistakenly connected by the Romans with their own word *pictus* = painted, and was translated back by the Goidels as *Cruithni*, by the Brythons as *Prydyn* ; words derived from *cruth* and *pryd* respectively, signifying form or shape. I cannot but feel too, that overmuch is built upon the traces of matriarchalism among the Picts. And admitting, for argument's sake, the validity of all Principal Rhys' inferences, I cannot see that they afford such decisive evidence of the non-Aryan character of the Picts as he claims for them.

An appendix by Professor Morris Jones deals with alleged pre-Aryan influence on the syntax of Celtic speech. If his conclusions are sound, they are important. To a non-philologist like myself they appear rash and unsound in the last degree. Principal Rhys is one of the few men living who are competent to express an opinion in this matter. I could have wished he had given us an expert lead.

ALFRED NUTT.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have received from Principal Rhys a copy of his Presidential Address to Section H at the Bradford meeting of the British Association. In this he commends Professor Jones' researches in warm terms. In other respects the Address follows the lines of the book. On re-reading the author's summary of his theory, my admiration of the ingenuity of his hypotheses is increased, as also my doubts of their validity.

HORNS OF HONOUR, AND OTHER STUDIES IN THE BY-WAYS OF
ARCHÆOLOGY. By F. T. ELWORTHY. Murray. 10s. 6d.
Illustrated.

THE author of this book, like so many others, tries to prove too much. Not content with collecting examples of the use of horns as helmet-crests, as emblems, and so forth, he tries to associate them with the crescent moon. Not content with that, he tries to prove that other crests, not in the least like horns, are also derived from the moon. The lucky horseshoe is the crescent moon; votive plaques (round, in fact) of terra-cotta, bearing the head of Hera, are the crescent moon; the cross-branches at the top of an Etruscan hut are also horns of honour, and therefore the crescent moon: it is hard to discover what is not the crescent moon. Mr. Elworthy disregards the many streams which converge in a given form; the magical power of iron in the horseshoe, for example, is more important than the shape; and goats, bulls, and stags wear horns as well as the crescent moon. It is always a mistake, but it seems to be almost an inevitable mistake, to explain everything on one principle. Mr. Elworthy's interpretations are not convincing.

When this is said, and when we have added that there is little method in the book, we have done with criticism. There is a great deal here which is interesting, much also which is new. Mr. Elworthy has drawn and published for the first time a remarkable series of magical hands, most of which are to be found in the Italian museums. These objects, from an artistic point of view hideous and loathsome, show a whole swarm of symbolic things upon them: a man in Phrygian dress, fruit, snake, lizard, dagger, scales, vase, Mercury's staff, bells, skulls, a woman in childbed, heaven knows what not. Here artificial interpretations are in place; the hands are the product of a debased and self-conscious stage, not ancient and simple. A series of terra-cotta votive discs, from Tarentum, is also described. All this is new; and so are a great many of the notes and observations scattered about in the volume. Not only descriptions of objects are given, but notes of customs connected with horns or hands, some from the author's own knowledge. This part of the book may be regarded as a supplement to Mr. Elworthy's *Evil Eye*. As a collection of material, this book is valuable; but the reader must know how to use it.

DAS BLUT IM GLAUBEN UND ABERGLAUBEN DER MENSCHHEIT.
MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER "VOLKSMEDI-
ZIN" UND DES "JÜDISCHEN BLUTRITUS." HERMANN L.
STRACK. Fünfte bis Siebente Auflage. Neubearbeitung der
Schrift "Der Blutberglaube." München, Beck, 1900.

IN this country we are happily free from that curse of several of the European nations, Anti-Semitism, in which an ancient superstition has been taken up and exploited for sectarian and political ends. Hence that controversy has but feeble interest for us. Professor Strack's book, however, is much more than a controversial pamphlet. His inquiries have led him to consider the whole question of the superstitions relating to the ritual, medical, and magical, use of blood. The first edition was published in 1891, and it has now been revised and partially rewritten for the second time. Additional citations have been inserted, and paragraphs of merely passing interest omitted; the bibliography has been greatly extended, and an index added. As far as rabbinical, mediæval, theological, and modern German literatures are concerned, it is now a most valuable collection of texts and references. But it is needless to review a work which has long since attained standard rank among students of superstition, and which as a refutation of the abominable slanders against the Jews has proved unanswerable.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA: Translated from the Pali by
T. W. RHYS DAVIDS: (Sacred Books of the Buddhists,
translated by various Oriental scholars, and edited by F.
Max Müller, Vol. II.). Frowde, 1899.

THIS forms the second instalment of the valuable collection of translations of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, forming a supplement to the great Oxford series of Sacred Books which we owe to Professor Max Müller, and published with the aid of a subsidy from the King of Siam. The collection began with the *Gâtakamâla*, or Garland of Birth-Stories, which has already been reviewed in these pages (*Folk-Lore*, vii., 192 seqq).¹⁸⁹⁷ The present volume

is perhaps even more valuable and interesting. It is a translation by Prof. Rhys Davids, whose previous studies in the literature of early Buddhism have opened up a new chapter in the history of the development of religion to English readers, of what are known as the *Digha* and *Magghima Nikāyas*, forming an exposition of what the early Buddhists considered the teaching of the Buddha to have been. On the question of the date of these dialogues, the translator, following Hofrath Dr. Bühler, assigns them to the fifth or probably the sixth century B.C. They thus form a very early attempt to construct a popular system of theology and psychology. They are framed on what we are accustomed to call the Socratic method. The Buddha, like other Indian teachers of his time, taught by conversation and embodied his doctrines in *Sûtras* or set phrases, which in the absence of a written literature was the only practical method of preserving and communicating opinion. They are framed much in the Platonic manner in the form of a dialogue between the Master and one of his disciples. The disciple is encouraged to suggest some religious or psychological problem: the Master by a series of ingenious questions and suggestions gradually involves him in a fallacy, and finally points out his errors and explains the manner in which it is possible to attain the truth.

All these dialogues demand attentive study, and here I can only briefly indicate the method which characterises them.

Thus, in the first or *Brahma-gâla Sutta*, we have a discussion and refutation of various animistic views of the soul, which assume it to be a sort of subtle mannikin inside the body, but separate from it, and continuing, after it leaves the body, as a separate entity. "All such speculation is condemned. And necessarily so, since the Buddhist philosophy is put together without this ancient idea of soul." The second, or the *Sâmanna-phala Sutta*, supplies the Teacher's justification of the foundation of his Order and the laws by which life in the Order is regulated. The third, or the *Ambattha Sutta*, is one of those which deal with the problem of caste and in particular with the pretensions of the Brahmins, a most interesting contribution to our knowledge of the historical development of that great social institution which has so profoundly influenced the progress of Hindu society. This is followed by the *Sonadanda Sutta*, which investigates the essential quality which makes a man a Brahman, and by the fifth, or

Kûṭadanta Sutta, which is really a humorous skit on the formalism of the Brahmanical ritual. Next comes the Mahâli Sutta, in which the ability of the initiate to see heavenly sights and hear heavenly sounds is investigated, and the true conception of the possibility of the attainment of Arahatsip along the Eight-fold Path is considered. In the eighth, or Kassapa-Sihanâda Sutta, the general question of asceticism is dealt with, and in the ninth, or Potṭhapâda, the Teacher passes on to a discussion of the Buddhistic theory of the soul. The remaining Suttas are less definite in aim, but the whole collection, as will appear from this brief summary, supplies us with a corpus of early theological and psychological beliefs of which it would be difficult to overrate the importance.

But beside the philosophical interest of this collection, it contains many interesting facts connected with the social organisation and popular beliefs of ancient India. Thus, we have (p. 8) a curious reference to what were possibly old exogamous dancing assemblages; to Bina and Dîga marriage, in the former the bridegroom being brought to the house of the bride, in the latter the bride being sent to live with the bridegroom (p. 23); to sister marriage, adopted by some tribes on the Himalaya "through fear of injuring the purity of their line" (p. 115); to mother-kinship as characteristic of the Kshatriya caste (p. 120). To the ethnologist one of the most interesting dialogues will be perhaps the Ambattha Sutta, in the excellent and suggestive introduction to which Professor Rhys Davids discusses the Buddhistic conception of caste. He shows that the idea of caste organisation was neither purely Aryan nor Indian. It corresponded on the one hand with the social structure of the Indo-European races about the seventh century B.C., and was also common to the indigenous or Dravidian peoples, whose influence on the Aryan polity is only now beginning to be recognised. We have, on the one hand, the division into the four varnas or colours, among whom the rules of exogamy and endogamy were only now in a faint way beginning to be recognised; and, on the other, the occupational form of caste which, originating among the inferior artizan tribes, gradually extended to those of a higher grade. This process, it may be added, was facilitated by the early adoption by the Brahman Levites of the guild system. But these Buddhist records are particularly interesting because we find here caste as it were in the making, and

we can watch it gradually extending and developing as it does in our own time. For further facts in confirmation and extension of his views, Professor Rhys Davids may be referred to the results of the Ethnographical Survey of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, with which he seems to be unacquainted.

On the whole, this volume may be safely recommended to all students of the early social and religious development of the Peninsula, while to the scientific anthropologist it presents many acts of the greatest interest. Needless to say the translation is admirably done, and considering the character of the original is very readable. The editor in his voluminous notes has called attention to and thrown considerable light upon the many obscure questions which are suggested by his text.

W. CROOKE.

GRETTIS SAGA ASMUNDARSONAR. Ed. R. C. BOER. Pp. lii. 348. 8vo. Halle, 1900. (Altnordische Saga-bibliothek, 8.)

A HANDY edition for beginners, especially German beginners, for whom the notes, which are sometimes needless and often too long, are obviously intended. The text is too much cut up by the extraneous matter and over-divided by numerals. But the editor, already favourably known by his edition of Beorn of Hitdale's Saga, &c., has conscientiously faced the difficulties he met, and has been able to correct the vulgate in several places, especially in the verses. He knows his Kälund well. As a store of folklore; as an instance of old tradition gathering about an historic personage owing to the conscious and unconscious efforts of those who successively related, orally or by pen, his life, till two centuries after his murder some literary Icelander of the Sturlung school composed the story as we have it; as a fine literary composition in its own way, the Saga is important, as important as Eglá or Laxdæla.

The accretions that have gathered round the central historic points can most of them be traced. Dr. Vigfusson, in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, showed that in the *Glám* incident and the *Ogress* incident we have echoes of the O. E. *Béowulf's* Lay. It was known that one of the *Spes* incidents was taken from the

Romance of Tristram.¹ Dr. Boer now points out that the rest of the *Spes* story is largely coloured by the romantic story of Harold Hardrede and the Byzantine princess.² It has been shown that what one might call the *enfance* of Grettir is purely mythic, taken from a folktale hero whom we in England call Tom Tram and the Highland Scots Mac-a-Rusgaich, whose childish adventures, as well as some of the amatory exploits of his later years, are here ascribed to Grettir. That the humorous and unhappily-lost *Grettir farsla* was founded on such older folk-songs and ceremonies as *Uolsa farsla* testifies to, was pointed out in C. P. B., ii., though one need not doubt that an actual incident of Grettir's career gave rise to the poem. How the *Béowulf* story came to attach itself to Grettir one cannot fully explain, but the son of Asmund was like the son of Ecgtheow, a man of gigantic strength, a mighty swimmer, and a man that had to do with uncanny foes, one "whose fate was evil though his fame was good." The exploits of the Icelander recalled the exploits of the older hero, and the older hero's deeds were by some conscious narrator at last applied to him.

But besides using alien written romance and native oral legend, consciously or unconsciously, the composer, who evidently had access to a collection of vernacular MSS., laid under contribution *Egla* (which is clearly imitated), *Fostbræðra* (in a better text than we have now), *Beorn the Hitdale champion's*, and *Grim Widows-son's Sagas*. He mentions others, notably *Bandamanna Saga* and the lost story of *Bodmod and Grimolf gerpi*.

The composer also, judging by internal evidence, supplied some number of the court-metre verses to embellish, as he supposed, the story, while he used one or two old ditties and a few compositions (such as the *jeu parti* on the black mare *Saddlefair*, the *Hallmund* verses, and the *Rescue* verses, in imitation of *Egil's* verses) that are, I believe, older than his own work. I believe some of the court metre verses are by *Sturla* (as *Vigfusson* supposed), and if they are it will explain the circumstance that they³ contain

¹ The incident of the gap in the sword causing its recognition is also taken from the *Tristram Romance*.

² There is a faint parallel to *Ine's* story in the way *Spes* calls on *Dromund* to repent.

³ In *Grettir's Brag Song*, for instance, as Messrs. Morris and Magnusson have pointed out.

facts not treated of in the text, things Sturla knew and our author did not. But I incline now to think that none of the verses in the Saga are really Grettir's composition. Most of them clearly are not; every canon of criticism forbids it. It is possible that a ditty or stray verse of Grettir may have been made in one or two instances the foundation of a regular court-metre verse by some Icelandic poet of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

To a second hand I should ascribe the *Landnáma-bóc* amplification (from Sturla's copy be it noted), that now stands at the beginning of the whole, and a number of *glosses* that seem to belong to a generation later than the composer's, and relate to the Sturlungs and their times.

The legal antiquarianism which brings in the *grith-oath* is of a piece with the legal bits of *Njala* and other Sagas, and may be the composer's own taste.

The nucleus that remains is not very big, but it is bigger than that of *Egla*. Here is an historic person, a cousin of St. Olave, a friend of Snorre gode, of Gudmund the mighty, an acquaintance of Thormod the poet, and many other notable men. That he went abroad after some trouble and manslaying in youth, did not get on well there with his cousin, came home again, got into fresh trouble, was outlawed, went through years of bandit life, and was finally murdered by his enemies in a discreditable way after twenty years, these are the main facts of his troubled life. Tradition told of his strength, his fear of the dark, his sharp tongue, his bad luck, his determination, his wanderings, his friendship with Beorn and Thorgils, the enormous price set on his life, the witchcraft used by Angle and the *new law* that it brought about, the revenge taken for him by Dromund. Places where he tried his strength, where he fought, where he swam, where he hid, where he escaped, were remembered and pointed out. The *red-headed outlaw* was a fond popular memory. The suit over Thorgil Macsson's death and the whale-drift, the slaying of Thorbiorn Tardy, the misfortune that befell Thorir of Garth's sons, the death of Atle, and the slaying of Oxmain, the fight at Hitrive, the sparing of Snorris' son Thorodd, these are historic. Gretti's short sword and barbed spear were remembered, and the latter actually seen, by persons who seem to be connected with the Sturlungs.

The story of the bear, of the bearsarks, of the barrow-dweller (Karr the Old), though they are well enough told by the composer,

are purely fictitious and put in in obedience to fashion, which demanded Norwegian episodes and expected its heroes to rob barrows, fight *holmgangs*, get into trouble with earls, and come home to Iceland finished characters.

The composer of the Saga was not Sturla, I think (for the style is not Sturla's, and we have enough of Sturla's style to judge by), but some one of the Sturlung school, a humorous, shrewd, legal-minded man, with a curious turn of style, idiomatic, racy, full of saws and proverbs, who was minded to write a big long Saga, and so eked out the good genuine liquor he had inherited with liquid of less bouquet and potency, flavouring it to the liking of his customers. But he made a good story of it in spite of himself. He keeps hold of the strand of facts that is the centre of the whole history, working up to the great and terrible Glám scene that crosses the brave young gentleman's luck, but can only enhance his fame. Grettir may lose much that evil luck can affect, but his kind brave heart, his stout hand, his wide renown, are his for ever. Asdis bore sons, indeed! The laconisms, saws, and incidents used are admirably adapted to this story and deftly employed. In his anxiety to make a long tale the composer lags a little sometimes, and sometimes, but less often, he hurries, as where he disappoints us by not letting us hear more about the Widowsson and the contests of strength and skill between Grettir and Beorn, and other incidents merely hinted at. One great opportunity is lost. When her son's head is brought to Asdis, she is made to answer in an elaborate verse, "If my son had been well ye would all have leaped headlong into the sea before him, as sheep from a grey fox"; but there must have been a pithy phrase here in the original tale, for the situation is dramatic enough (if indeed the scene was not devised by the literary composer of this Saga) to provide one of those brief and deeply tragic utterances, "fierce mortal words," such as the greater Elizabethan dramatists and the Icelandic Saga-makers at their best give us.

The composer had access to poems as well as prose works in the vernacular. At least two of the Eddic poems are apparently cited—*Hávamal* and the Long Lay of Brunhild.

Among other curious notes in this Saga are the *triads*, of which there are several: three strongest men in Iceland—Grettir, Orm Støedpson, Thoralf Scolmsson; three reasons for Grettir's celebrity; character of the three outlaws as regards courage, &c. One might

almost guess that at the end of Sturla's *Landnáma bók* there were a number of memoranda intended to supplement art, and that the composer is quoting some few of these.¹ Another thing that strikes one is a fact pointed out first in print by Dr. Boer, that there are several *doublets* among the events narrated, *i.e.* the same thing told over in different ways with differing details, but evidently really the same, *e.g.* : Thorir the giant and Hallmund o' the Cave look like repetitions; the *Béowulf* story is told twice, once of Glám, once of an ogress and her mate. We can hardly fancy the composer of *Grettla*, as we have it, often deliberately splitting a story into two, though he might do so once, but if an editor came across two stories with the same plot and differing details, he might (like Livy in the same case) set them both down, not recognising their essential identity.

The legal part of the Saga reminds one of *Gunnlaug's Saga*, the *legalia* are probably drawn from some collection of legal notes (possibly put together by Sturla), as we have suggested the historical memoranda may have been. There seems no reason to distrust their accuracy. The change of law involving an alteration in the terms on which Iceland accepted Christianity must (one would think) have excited much notice and been remembered; the dictum as to outlawry is interesting but confusing to the chronologist, and the curious increase in head-money is a thing that would not be quickly forgotten.

The wealth of proverbs, adages, and idiomatic phrases in this Saga is also notable for our purposes. It recalls what was perhaps among its models, the *Starcad-Eric Saga* that has survived to us only in Saxo's labouring but picturesque Latin. Among the book-stores that must have fallen or passed into the Sturlungs' hands such a Saga may well have had a place. Besides those noted by Morris and Magnusson and postfixed to their translation, I have marked some three score more which I place here for the English reader's convenience arranged in rough alphabetical order by the principal word of each, which seems to be the handiest plan. There are some proverbial phrases, &c., not strictly proverbs, among them, as will be seen :—

¹ From this source may come, directly or by imitation, the curious remarks on the other great Icelandic outlaw, Haurd, in the *Saga of the Outlaws of the Stronghold*.

I do not take to *all* men alike.
 To do the *bed* well over a man's head.
 Ill *beginning* makes ill ending.
Blood will seldom seem blood to thee.
 Ye shall not lay that *box* on me.
 Let each do his best, there is *chance* later.
 Evil *counsels* are hard to cope with.
 It is ill to help *cowards*.
 It is better to deal with men than *devils*.
 Many little things happen on late *eves*.
 Glam lends *eyes*.
 No man may flee from his *fate*.
 There is one *fate* for us all.
 Many bade him *farewell*, but few said "Come back."
 A man hard driven cannot *foresee* all things.
 Too near my *garth* have deeds of hard need been.
 Now God were in *garth* if our lot is to be bettered.
 Here is good *getting* come to hand.
 Few things lead more men to ill than not to know how to
 take the *good* that comes.
 It is well to have better proof than *guesses*.
 Hot for the *hand*, but still a milksop's work.
 The arms will not fail if thine *heart* hold.
 Now has evil *heart* prevailed.
 No *heart* in him save he be holpen.
 This *hap* will not walk alone.
 An ill *hoard-house* to grope in.
 To lie between home and *hell*.
 I never saw thine *irons* bite so deep.
 Good for us two to share the *kale* alone.
 His hands and *life* a man must defend.
 Many a thing has its *like*.
 I cannot *look* to everything.
 Oft I *lowt* for little things.
 He would be deft if he were but *lucky*.
 He is not a *man* to play with.
 A *man* will prove himself what he is.
 All things soever will *men* do for money.
Measured in unlike ways is man's bliss.
 My *marks* are the deepest cut.
 There are *more* things than weregild to be thought of.
 All comes on a man at *once*.
 It is hard work to look after an *outlaw*.
 Let each, great or small, have his *own*.
 To beat a man like an *oxhead*.
 He that can hold his *peace* is not all a fool.
 My *prophecies* do not live long [unfulfilled].
 Many like ways have the *proud*.

One must *risk* something.
 Better *row* easier and break nothing.
 It is ill to speak scorn of *sackless* men, *i.e.*, It is ill to mock
 the innocent.
 The *stern* is bound to lag behind.
 A *tale* is but half told if one man tells it.
 The fairest women *talk* the most.
 A man's *tongue* often grows too long,
 That will be known when it is *tried*.
Too soon clutch evil's claws.
Trust no man so well as not to trust thyself better.
 There is no *trusting* man's might or man's luck.
Trusting too much has been many a man's bane.
Woods must hide the hunted.¹
Words are free.
 Many a man is tongue-strong and *weak*-handed.

With the chronology of the Saga, difficult as it stands, we have not to do here, there are enough indications left in it and elsewhere to enable us to range the birth and death of Grettir within a small margin of the real dates, *c.* 996-1032.

There are a few passages worth giving here as of special bearing on folklore, *e.g.*, the charming of the log and the curses of the witch :—

“And when they came to the strand, she [the witch] went limping along by the sea as if she were led thither. There lay there before her a root-log as big as a man might carry. She looked at the tree and bade them turn it over there before her. It looked as if it had been singed and rubbed on one side; where it was rubbed she had a little flat place cut. Then she took her knife and cut *runes* on the root and reddened them with her blood and spoke spell-songs over them. She walked backwards and against the sun round the log and cast many rank spells over it. After that she had the log thrust into the sea and spoke over it to the end that it should drift out to Drangey and turn to the complete hurt of Grettir. The wind was blowing up along the frith, but the old woman's root-log sailed against the gale and seemed to go no slower than might be looked for.”

“Now this is the spell I lay on thee, Grettir, that thou be reft of health, of all thy living and luck, of all thy wit and wisdom, ever the more, the longer thou livest. And I think that thou shalt have here fewer happy days henceforward than hitherto !”

The exact correspondence of the revenge with the insult is to be noticed. The old woman's thigh was broken by a stone (which a witch could not propel), and she gets Grettir's leg maimed above

¹ Cf. Glám's verse :

“ uel hafa úiðir scógar uargi opt um borgit,”
 and Harold Hardrede's verses on his escape from Sticklestead.

the knee by means of the charmed log. But, like Glám, she cannot take away his real gifts, his strength, valour, endurance, fame, wit; she can only nullify them. Grettir was still wise, but his wisdom was of no effect; he was still strong, but he could not walk; he was still famous, but his highest fame was to come when he was dead. Luck and wealth and even health up to a point she could influence, but Glám himself could do no more than haunt him and so indirectly injure him. The evil one's power is broken, but not wholly destroyed, by the christening of Iceland. The holy king saw the unluckiness of the man long before and warned him (just as the wicked earl warned Sigmund Brestisson), but "no man may flee his fate."

Glám's spell is as follows: "I lay this spell on thee that these eyes of mine be ever before thy sight, and not easy shalt thou deem it to be alone, and this shall draw thee to thy death." The alliteration of these *carmina* is of course characteristic of all charms, good or evil, and of all law *formula*, proverbs and saws, as well as of the poetry of the old Scandinavians.

There are many bits of archaic speech and lore scattered throughout the story. A corpse's head is "thigh-forked" (*cf.* the Greek arm-pitting), a usage that I remember an instance of in Sardinia in the sixties in the case of a priest who was killed for a social offence, and one reads that when Marin Falier's tomb was discovered and opened his head was found laid between his knees. The insulting epithet "son of a sea-giantess," that led to the breakdown of Grettir's contemplated clearing by ordeal, is illustrated by the Eddic poems of the Helge cycle, as¹ is also the ogress in Bard-dale who was turned to stone by the day-dawn bursting on her. Thorbiorn Angle is playing fox and geese (apparently) when his stepmother and he quarrel. The Christian feeling (shown in *Béowulf's* Lay) that barrow-hid treasure is badly bestowed is noted. Ancestral arms are mentioned. Grettir is made to own three. The barbed spear, *Karr's loom*, with which he slew Oxmain; the old short sword his mother gave him, *Jökul's loom*;² and the short sword he got in the barrow of Karr the

¹ *Cf.* also *Alvismal*.

² This sword disappears in the story without notice. Here is another of those needless *doublers*, like the behaviour of Andrew and of Stein, the priest from Eydale river. The *Béowulf* sword incident, too, was probably difficult to reconcile with what was known of Grettir and his weapons.

old ; and this last is the fatal weapon that cut off his head, and afterwards avenged him out in Byzantine lands in the days of Michael Kalaphates the emperor. For many other less noteworthy things in the Saga we may safely leave students to Dr. Boer's notes. I hope I have said enough to show the value to be placed on the text and the edition.

F. Y. P.

ARTUS' KAMPF MIT DEM KATZENUNGETÜM : DIE SAGA UND
IHRE LOKALISIERUNG IN SAVOYEN. E. FREYMOND. Halle :
Max Niemeyer.

THIS interesting monograph has for its subject Arthur's fight with the Demon Cat, an incident related in the prose *Merlin*, or, as Herr Freymond prefers to call it, *Le Livre d'Artus*. To English scholars the original is accessible in Dr. Sommer's edition of the Vulgate *Merlin*, where it occupies the concluding portion of chapter xxxii. and the earlier part of chapter xxxiii.

The version on which Herr Freymond bases his study is that contained in a MS. of the Grand-Ducal Library at Darmstadt ; this he gives in full, only noting variants of the other versions. The writer apparently considers that the Darmstadt MS. represents an earlier form of the story ; this we doubt. Comparing the story, as printed by Herr Freymond, with the version printed by Dr. Sommer, it seems more probable that the former gives a condensed and abridged account of an incident related with no unnecessary expansion or amplification of detail by the latter.

The results arrived at by Herr Freymond are extremely interesting. He identifies the Cat of the French Romance with the Kymric *Cath Paluc*, a monster mentioned in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, and in certain of the *Triads*. The *Cath Paluc* had previously been identified, both by M. Gaston Paris and by Mr. Alfred Nutt, with the *Chapalu* (the mysterious monster of the *Bataille de Loquifer*) and *Capalu* (the Elfin King of *Ogier le Danois*). Following up certain suggestive indications contained in the poem of *Manuel et Amande* and the *Romanz des Franceis*,

the writer arrives at the conclusion that it was this monster, originally a sea demon, who in one version of the story conveyed Arthur to Avalon! It is certain that there was a tradition that Arthur was either slain in his combat with the Cat or disappeared after his victory over it—equally certain that the mysterious *Chapalu* or *Capalu* was in Avalon with Arthur.

Herr Freymond then discusses the subject of fights with sea-monsters, or monsters connected with water, and concludes by examining the process by which the legend became localised in Savoy. The scene of the story he considers to be the *Mont du Chat*, near the *Lac du Bourget*, which in the Romance has become confused with the better-known *Lac de Losanne*, i.e. *Geneva*. As to how the story, originally Welsh, arrived in Savoy, the writer does not dogmatise; he suggests two theories, either that it was brought south by the pilgrims—the *Mont du Chat* lying on the direct route to Rome—or through intercommunication between the reigning House of Savoy and the Kings of France and England. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the princely house of Savoy intermarried alike with these countries and with Flanders, then represented by Count Philip, patron of Chrétien de Troies.

The study is both interesting and valuable, affording as it does additional evidence of the survivals of Celtic elements in the Arthurian legends, and showing how long a period of evolution must have preceded the final emergence of the purely knightly and chivalric form in which it is familiar to us. Unhappily, it makes us only the more conscious of the number of links in the chain of tradition which are lacking, with but scant hope of recovery.

There are one or two omissions in the section dealing with monsters generally which have struck us. Why does not Herr Freymond refer to Gawain's fight with the lion in the Château Merveil? The beast is of monstrous size, "as large as a horse," is famishing for hunger, and attacks the knight as the cat does Arthur, fixing its claws in his shield. Gawain, too, smites off the fore-paw (only one here) and preserves the shield with the trophy attached, for doing which he is mocked by his "Proud Lady." Some connection between the stories there certainly must be.

Again, we hardly think that the Chevalier-Poisson, in the poem

of "Le Chevalier du Papegau," is really, as Herr Freymond seems to think, a distorted version of the same story. The cat may have been originally a water-monster, but that aspect of the story seems to have been lost in that of the demoniac character of the beast. Strictly speaking, it is as a fight with a fiend, "*uns anemis*," that the Romancer regards it. Nor is its origin as given in the Triads precisely that of a water-demon, though it is fished out of the water. The Chevalier-Poisson story seems rather to belong to a line of tradition in which the water origin is insisted upon: we should class it with the *Grendel* story, and the analogous account given in *Diu Crône* of the slaying of a water-monster and his mother by Gawain, which Herr Freymond seems to have overlooked. We have not the poem at hand, and our notes are scanty, but unless we mistake, the creatures were of monstrous shape, and overgrown with seaweed.

To his dragon stories Herr Freymond might well have added that of König Ortnit, a capital illustration of his points. The monster is treacherously introduced into his land by the heathen king whose daughter he has carried off. It is sent as a present, a harmless beast. Grown to full size, it devastates the land, and finally, when Ortnit goes to slay it, he himself falls a victim. Should Herr Freymond ever project a second edition of his excellent monograph, he may, perhaps, think these hints worth following up.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

SHAKSPEARE'S PERICLES AND APOLLONIUS OF TYRE, A STUDY
IN COMPARATIVE LITERATURE. By ALBERT H. SMYTH.
Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co. 1898.

MR. SMYTH in this essay has collected all the available facts about the distribution of the Apollonius romance in different languages in the Middle Ages. In an appendix, the *Gesta Romanorum* version is given, and it was apparently at first Mr. Smyth's intention to give the Anglo-Saxon *Apollonius* also. As Zupitza's edition in the *Archiv* 1896 is not easily found, it is to be regretted that this original design was not carried out. A great

deal of diligence has been given to the survey of the field and the search for information about Apollonius; the result is a book which illustrates in an interesting and useful way the common processes of transmission between different languages in the Middle Ages and the common forms employed in the publication of favourite stories. By means of Mr. Smyth's indications, the way may be found to a large number of sources for the study of mediæval literature. Folklore has a much smaller place in the book than the literary and professional adaptations of romance according to the taste of different markets. But the interest of popular and oral tradition, distinct from that of the professional dealers in romance, is not left out of account. There are one or two oversights. In the passage about Solomon and his wife, in legend, there ought to have been a reference to *Cligès*, and to Professor W. Förster's Introduction in his edition of *Chrestien de Troyes*. Some names should be corrected: e.g. "Lopez de Vega," "Vincentius Bellovac," and "Alphonse le Savant," in the middle of an English sentence, used for Alphonso the Wise of Castile. Odense is not in Finland, and "lystig og fornøjelig at læse og høre" does not mean "jolly and *novel* to read and hear." These things are trivial, but they detract somewhat from the merit of the book and make the reader uncomfortable. Mr. Smyth, it should be noted, has reprinted the rhyming English Apollonius fragment published by Halliwell in 1850.

JOURNAL OF THE FOLK-SONG SOCIETY. Vol. I., No. 1, 1899, pp. viii., 26. No. 2, 1900, pp. viii., 27—62. Printed for the Society by Spottiswoode & Co.

OUR unpretending but vigorous offshoot, the Folk-Song Society, has now been at work for two years, and has fully justified its claim to a separate existence. Its scheme of operations consists of the collection, annual performance, and subsequent publication of inedited folk-music, as well words as airs, with notes thereon. The numbers of its annual *Journal* for 1899-1900 are now before us. The first contains an introductory address by Sir Hubert Parry, one of the vice-presidents; a paper on "Modal Survivals

in Folk-Song," by Mr. E. S. Jacques—survivals such as an un-instructed collector might be liable to mistake for errors of the singer, and to obliterate in transcription; an entertaining paper by the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Kate Lee, on the "Experiences of a Folk-Song Collector," containing practical hints which many a folklorist might study with profit; and finally, twelve traditional airs, previously unpublished. The second number contains a report of the year's work, from which it seems that thirty-one tunes have been received from nine collectors for collation and consideration by the committee; a paper on Jewish Synagogue Music, and another on English Sailors' Songs; and lastly, ten inedited folk-songs, and ten preserved in the traditions of the Synagogue.

As to the matter of these gleanings, the majority are narrative love-songs, possessing, even when obviously corrupted by repetition, that curious affecting pathos which is a "note" of the genuine folk-song all over the world. A few ballads ("folk-tales in verse") are mentioned among the sea-songs, but only one of the real old sort is given: "Come, Mother, Come Make up my Bed"—a variant on the old theme of the separated lovers who die for love. Trade and labour-songs are not represented.

More attention, however, has been paid to the music than to the words; and undoubtedly the study of folk-music has its own importance, not only as throwing light on the history and development of musical science, but for its bearing on some of the problems of folklore. For here we can often get at actual facts, where in other departments we have to depend on reasoning and probability. Take, for instance, the Jewish evidence now before us. The melodies used in synagogal and other worship are in reality the folk-tunes of the several countries in which Jewish immigrants have settled, but interwoven by their adapters with curious cadences of an Oriental cast; thus displaying clearly the double influence of race and environment. Again, the "toughness" of popular tradition, especially when sanctioned by ritual or ecclesiastical practice, is illustrated by the fact that one at least of the melodies still traditionally sung by the descendants of Spanish Jews was originally set to words by Rabbi Judah Halleli, who was born in Castile in 1085.

After this, the information that the ballad of the capture of the *Sweet Trinity*, printed in black letter in the reign of Elizabeth, is

still sung by our sailors under the name of the *Golden Vanity*, seems flat and commonplace in comparison. Yet much new light may be thrown on the diffusion and transmission of folklore when the subjects of sailors' songs and gipsies' songs shall have been systematically studied.

Considering the magic power universally attributed to song, folklorists might with advantage pay more attention to it than has hitherto been customary. This is especially advisable in cases where musical airs are enshrined in some ritual or ceremonial custom. Old-fashioned civic ceremonials, for instance, often have a special tune associated with them. The assistance of a musical friend, or of the local organist, may usually be obtained, if skill in transcription be lacking ; and the judgment of experts on the character and rarity of the tune is now easily procurable through the Folk-Song Society. With this end in view, the Honorary Secretary (a member herself of the Folk-Lore Society) will forgive us for adding her name and address : Mrs. KATE LEE, 8, Victoria Road, Kensington, London, W.

CARMINA GADELICA. Hymns and Incantations, with Illustrative Notes on Words, Rites, and Customs, dying and obsolete : orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and translated into English by ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL. 2 vols., 4to. 1900. xxxii. 339, xii. 350 pp. Edinburgh : Printed for the Author by T. & A. Constable, and sold by Norman Macleod. 300 copies printed.

MR. ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL, whose portrait, an admirable and speaking likeness, adorns the first volume, is a Highland gentleman who has spent over forty years in close and continued communion with his countrymen of the crofter and fisher class, gathering up and recording their traditional lore. For his informants he manifests throughout strong affection and sincere regard ; with their mode and conception of life his sympathy is evident. It is plain to see that the feelings and fancies which he has chronicled so reverently, appeal alike to his moral and to his æsthetic sense. The result is a book of rare unity of aim and

effect, in which we never lose sight of the human life which underlies and animates the recorded lore, in which every fragment bears its witness to a definite system of culture whose charm, felt by the author, is communicated to the reader.

From among the mass of lore which he has collected, Mr. Carmichael has here selected the invocations, charms, spells, prayers, and soothsayings of daily life and occupation in the house, the field, the byre, and the fishing-boat. The illustrative notes appended to each section picture in a most vivid and charming way the conditions of existence among a peasantry which has preserved the appropriate formula, the fitting rite, the hallowed ceremonial, for every act of its simple and laborious life. Much of the recorded matter is of course familiar, being merely the Gaelic expression of what is common to the peasant class throughout Europe, and what may be defined as the result of compromise between Christian teaching and pre-Christian conceptions. A very distinct flavour is, however, given to this pan-European popular Christian oral literature by the passionate intensity of affection displayed towards the two chief patron saints of the Western Isles, Columba and Bridget (Bride). On the whole Mr. Carmichael's collection exemplifies much more the popular Christianity than the pre-Christian conceptions of Gaeldom. Whilst we can detect throughout an underlying stratum of far older belief and custom, yet the expression is nearly always that of orthodox Christianity, orthodox of course in the mediæval sense. Much of what Mr. Carmichael has noted may rank with the most exquisite expressions of popular Christian feeling in any language.

Mr. Carmichael earnestly disclaims having rendered his originals in their full beauty. I can only say that his English has a charm, a grace, and a noble dignity it would be difficult to overpraise. I quote one passage, both on account of its intrinsic merit and because it enables me to illustrate afresh that unity of tone and spirit throughout Gaelic literature upon which I have so often insisted. The piece entitled *Ora nam Buadh*, Invocation of the Graces, probably composed, thinks Mr. Carmichael, to a maiden on her marriage, opens thus:—

I bathe thy palms
In showers of wine,

In the lustral fire,
 In the seven elements,
 In the juice of the rasps,
 In the milk of honey,
 And I place the nine pure choice graces
 In thy fair fond face,
 The grace of form,
 The grace of voice,
 The grace of fortune,
 The grace of goodness,
 The grace of wisdom,
 The grace of charity,
 The grace of choice maidenliness,
 The grace of whole-souled loveliness,
 The grace of goodly speech.

Now when Cuchulainn, the most famous hero of ancient Gael-dom, was urged to wed by his tribesmen, there was but one maiden of the maidens of Erin he deigned to address and to woo—for she had the six gifts: the gift of beauty, the gift of voice, the gift of sweet speech, the gift of needlework, the gift of wisdom, the gift of chastity. The one passage is at least a thousand, possibly fifteen hundred years old; the other lives to-day on the lips of the western islanders, yet is the one still the best commentary upon the other.¹

The outward dress of these volumes is worthy of their contents. No true book lover but will prize *Carmina Gadelica* among his chief treasures. I sincerely trust that enlightened lovers of Gaelic lore will speedily purchase the small first edition, and thus enable Mr. Carmichael to reprint the most beautiful pieces of his collection in a very cheap form for use in Gaelic elementary classes. In this way the elementary school, so often the worst enemy of traditional lore, may be made subservient to its preservation. We cannot prevent the conditions of life from changing, we can however strive that the inevitable change be carried out with as little loss as possible of what is eternally beautiful and of good report.

ALFRED NUTT.

¹ *The Wooing of Emer*, translated by K. Meyer, *Archæological Review*, vol. i. p. 68, &c. Mr. Carmichael's "grace" and Professor Meyer's "gift" both translate the same Gaelic word.

SUPERSTITIONS OF THE HIGHLANDS and ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND,
COLLECTED ENTIRELY FROM ORAL SOURCES. By [the late]
JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL, Minister of Tiree. xx. 318
pp. Glasgow: MacLehose. 1900.

MANY readers of *Folk-Lore* know the admirable work of the late Rev. J. G. Campbell as exemplified in vols. iv. and v. of *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, and will be prepared to extend a warm welcome to this posthumous volume, excellently edited by his sister, Mrs. Wallace, fragmentary though it be. It consists of twelve chapters: The Fairies; Tales illustrative of Fairy Superstition; Tutelary Beings; The Urisk, The Blue Men, and the Mermaid; The Water Horse; Superstitions about Animals; Miscellaneous Superstitions; Augury; Premonitions and Divination; Dreams and Prophecies; Imprecations, Spells, and the Black Art; The Devil; and reflects with rigorous fidelity popular lore in the Gaelic districts of Western Scotland during the second half of the century. Statements and beliefs are given exactly as they reached the author, nor do I think it would be possible to detect a single instance in which wider knowledge or prepossession of any kind has induced him to alter or distort a fact. This rigid conscientiousness will always secure for Mr. Campbell's work the confidence and regard of true folklorists.

The author has not essayed to harmonise the popular presentation of the fairy world, but has left it in all its striking and perplexing inconsistency. Thus, *e.g.*, on p. 23 we are told that "(fairy) gifts have evil influence connected with them, and however inviting at first, are productive of bad luck in the end," whilst on p. 24 we learn that a fairy gift, or rather returned loan, of oatmeal "proved inexhaustible," provided certain conditions were complied with. This very inconsistency is a warrant of the faithfulness with which the lore has been recorded; the fairy belief of Gaelic Ireland and Scotland represents a very archaic creed overlaid by alien and inimical systems of faith; in the popular mind of to-day, traces of incongruous or opposing doctrine are inevitably bound to make themselves felt.

Mr. Campbell may be the more implicitly trusted because in certain respects he shared the linguistic interpretations of his informants. Thus he fully accepts the popular connection of the word *sidhe*, used to designate the fairy race, with *sith* = peace, and

writes of the fairies as "the people of peace." Yet this is certainly a bit of folk-etymology, though apparently of some antiquity in Gaeldom. Note, however, that although widely spread it has practically not influenced at all the popular presentation of the fairy race. It is only the first two chapters which make any pretence at treating their subject at all exhaustively, and these may profitably be compared with the account of the fairy belief in Western Scotland written at the end of the seventeenth century by the Rev. Robert Kirk. In Scotland, as elsewhere, the Church has often been guilty of unintelligent disregard or reprobation of folklore, but it has also produced many devoted and sympathetic students of popular creed and fancy. Campbell of Tiree takes his place by the side of Kirk, and of Walter Gregor of Pitsligo, among those recorders of folklore to whom the student can always turn with increased confidence and admiration.

ALFRED NUTT.

BEDD GELERT, ITS FACTS, FAIRIES, AND FOLKLORE. By D. E. JENKINS. With an Introduction by Professor RHYS. Portmadoc : Llewelyn Jenkins. 1899.

PROFESSOR RHYS has kindly contributed an introduction on place-names to this spirited production of a local press, in which every feature of the parish of Bedd Gelert, from prehistoric antiquities to the smallest modern cottage, is minutely described, and the traditional history of each spot for nearly a hundred years is set forth at length. But there is no general history of the place or of the estates contained in it, nor is anything told from documentary sources except some few facts about the ancient priory. Legendary history there is in abundance, together with modern genealogy, personal details, and trivial gossip of the country side; and among all the medley, a considerable amount of folklore. In the first place we have a chapter chiefly devoted to the demolition of Mr. Joseph Jacobs, for having ventured to suggest that the famous Greyhound legend was first attached to Bedd Gelert by a certain local poet, whereas the village tradition runs that it is due to a local innkeeper, an intruder from South Wales, who had taken the

liberty of marrying a Bedd Gelert young woman, and who imported the story, and even, it is said, built the grave, to attract customers to his inn. After this we get a great deal of really excellent matter about witches, fairies, ghosts, goblins, and apparitions of all kinds, mainly derived from the collections of a native of the place, Mr. William Jones, one of the many intellectual Welshmen of humble birth. Some part of his notes has already been made use of by Professor Rhys in his papers on Welsh Fairy Tales in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. v. The number of stories localised in one parish is surprising, but we are exacting, and are inclined to complain that we are told nothing of any institutions or customs, agricultural, legal, or social, beyond incidental mentions of ball-play in the churchyard on Sundays in the early part of the century, and of removing from the farmhouse to a "hafod," or upland shieling, during hay-harvest, and a single instance of the peculiar Welsh system of patronymics. Yet many ancient institutions must surely have been preserved in a parish so isolated, that up to 1805 no road passed through it, and no wheeled vehicle had been seen in it; sledges being used to bring in the hay and peat. A sequel, remedying this omission, and confined to folklore only, would be welcome. Whatever else is unrecorded, however, the Welsh character is unconsciously revealed to us in every page, with its literary and intellectual tastes, its strong antiquarian bent, its local patriotism, and, withal, its quaint self-importance. The type has not altered since Shakespeare drew Fluellen.

SHAKESPEARE'S GREENWOOD. By GEORGE MORLEY. D. Nutt, 1900. Square 16mo., xx., 289 pp. Illustrated. Price 5s.

THIS dainty little volume takes us into Shakespeare's native county, and shows us the scenery, the people, the language, and the ideas amid which his youth was passed. In so doing, it gives us a good deal of information on the folklore of Warwickshire, and though the author is not a scientific folklorist, as is shown at once by his classification of Superstitions, Customs, and Folklore in separate chapters, yet he contrives to avoid the chief faults of the non-scientific—embellishment and guesswork. Authorities

are not given, but as Mr. Morley evidently writes from the personal knowledge of a local resident, this is perhaps excusable ; and he records many interesting items and some uncommon ones. As a Shakespearian study, the chapter on Dialect is the best, but the whole makes up a very pleasing little picture of rural English life and scenery, such as will be enjoyed by all folklorists who like to find their "lore" presented to them in its native atmosphere and surroundings. May it, without compromising the dignity of a learned society, be suggested to them as a suitable Christmas gift-book ?

ALL ABOUT THE MERRY TALES OF GOTHAM. By ALFRED STAPLETON. Nottingham : R. N. Pearson. 1900. Illustrated. 190 pp.

THIS is an examination into the connection of the famous noodle-stories with the village of Gotham, in Nottinghamshire. The author touches but lightly on the subjects of parallels and variants, and not at all on the question of the position of these and similar "drolls" among the folk-tales of the world. But he gives the text of the tales themselves, a full bibliography of them, and a reproduction of all allusions to them in literature, beginning with that in the Towneley Mysteries in the fifteenth century, which he reproduces in facsimile as the frontispiece. It is a very careful and conscientious bit of work, if not a very profound or scientific one. The author's own view is that the men of Gotham gained the reputation of fools and attracted to themselves the current noodle-stories of the world, through the ignorant and stupid judgments given at the Hundred Court for the Wapentake of Rushcliff, held at Rushcliff, in Gotham parish. One does not see why, if this were so, nearly every meeting-place of a hundred-court in the kingdom should not have gained the reputation of the habitation of fools. But this idea leads Mr. Sutherland to make personal investigations on the spot, and to give us an account, plan, and drawing of the Cuckoo Bush Mound, where the so-called "bush" grows on an old tumulus on the hill above the moated site of Rushcliff Hall ; a map of the parish ; details gleaned from old inhabitants ; and notes from the local Enclosure Award of 1806. This, the appendix, is the best part of the book, and the minute care, sagacity, and perseverance which Mr. Suther-

land shows in his inquiries lead us to wish that he may pursue his researches into local institutions. That is a field in which there are but few workers, and in which local workers are an absolute necessity for any progress, while in bibliographical and literary matters the local worker is inevitably at a disadvantage.

But we hope that whenever Mr. Sutherland publishes anything more, he will employ another printer.

CONTES POPULAIRES DE LA BASSE NORMANDIE. Recueillis et
Publiés par VICTOR BRUNET. Emile Lechevalier. 1900.
151 pp. Price 3 fr. 50. Only 100 copies printed.

THIRTY-FOUR short stories, chiefly local legends, told with French simplicity and directness, and with sundry touches of French sarcasm. It is a pity that the author has given no hint of his authorities, for the tales are evidently genuine traditions of the country-side, telling of *seigneurs* and *baillis* and *curés*, of *revenants* and penances and wayside crosses, and of the events in which they had part "avant la grande Révolution," just as Aubrey's reminiscences are of the times "before the wars." Some are stories of origin, of the "Pré Maudit," or the "Chaire du Diable;" some deal with supernatural beings, the Loup-garou, the spectral *Lavandières* eternally washing dead men's shrouds by moonlight; two or three are variants of folk-tale themes, in which *le bon Dieu* and the Apostles figure much as they do in *Popular Tales from the Norse*. Others are merely comic anecdotes, such as abound everywhere. None are very remarkable, but taken as a whole they reflect very vividly the life and ideas of the country folk among whom they have taken shape. Altogether, the little book repays perusal.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF FOLKLORE IN PARIS.

FAVOURED by a happy combination of cool but sunny weather, the third and last International Congress of the nineteenth century was brought to a successful termination on the 12th September, 1900. Within the grounds of the Exhibition the first meeting was held at 9 a.m., the 10th of September, at the Palais du Congrès, situated at the north end of the Pont de l'Alma. M. Beauquier was in the chair as President of the Congress. As I was the only British delegate present at the opening of the session, and represented the oldest society formed for the promotion of folklore studies, I was invited by the President to sit at his right hand. The meeting was opened by a short address from the President; various *bureaux* were nominated; the names of foreign delegates were read out by M. Sébillot, the Secretary of the Congress, and then several papers were read till it was time to adjourn for lunch.

For the most part the papers were presented in an abbreviated form, and were read in French by the author, if present, or by the Secretary, or by M. Marillier. It is impossible for me to give an abstract of the more remarkable communications, for the very good reason that I was unfortunately unable to understand sufficiently the majority of the readers. But as in course of time all the papers will be printed in full, the members of our Society will soon have an opportunity of judging the merits of the various communications for themselves. The only paper sent in by any of our members was the first on the list, and was entitled *La danse totémique en Europe*, by N. W. Thomas. It was afterwards criticised by M. Marillier, who could not agree with all Mr. Thomas's conclusions.

On resuming the session at 2 p.m. the first half-hour or so was taken up by Dr. Azoulay's lecture on the phonography of folktales and songs, exemplified on a phonograph. Through its instrumentality we were enabled to listen to songs and stories in the Béarnais and other French dialects, in Armenian, Basque, Tibetan, Chinese, Uzbek Turkish, and Hungarian. The latter were selected from a larger number of folk-songs from the collection of M. Vikar, who was not present at the Congress, but had intended giving a full demonstration of Hungarian songs and music on the phonograph. Some of these I probably heard last summer in M. Vikar's house at Budapest. Though the phonograph is not a very cheerful instrument to listen to, Dr. Azoulay made the most of it, and his lecture, which was delivered orally, was loudly applauded.

Although unable to give an abstract of the more striking papers laid before the Congress, it will not be inopportune to give a list of them, thirty-three in all. From the titles alone the general object of the communications may be learnt. From them we can form an idea of the particular branches of folklore that most attract our fellow-workers on the other side of the Channel, and can observe the trend of their investigations and of their sympathies in this or that direction. On the whole it would seem that the folktale, legends, folk-music, and the literary side of folklore is what attracts most attention. Papers on rites, usages, customs, and the more anthropological aspect of folklore played a very small part in the last international Congress of the century. The contrast between these two aspects of folklore lies in this, that one deals with ideas that are put into words, the other with ideas that are translated into actions. Among papers of the latter description I ought not to pass over an excellent lecture on "Amulets" by M. de Mortillet, accompanied by an exhibition of many specimens collected by himself. Quite new ground was broken by M. Th. Volkov in an interesting paper, "The Science of the Unlettered Classes in general and more particularly in Ukrain." Among other matters he described how the Russian peasants multiply, add, and subtract larger sums, and how they perform simple geometrical operations when the area of a plot of ground has to be measured.

The following is a list of the papers that will appear when the Proceedings of the Congress are published.

Tales and Legends.

- RÉNÉ BASSET. Union is strength, origin of a fable.
 RAOUL ROSIÈRES. The laws of the life of legends.
 PAUL SÉBILLOT. Megalithic legends.
 MINAS TCHÉRAZ. Origin and evolution of tales and legends.
 TCHOBANIAN. On the legend of David and Mhaer.
 DR. AZOULAY. The phonography of tales and songs.

Songs, Dancing, Music, and Poetry.

- B. VIKAR. Phonographic collection of Hungarian folk-songs.
 LÉON PINEAU. Origin and development of Scandinavian folk-songs.
 A. DAUZAT. Folk-music.
 STANISLAS PRATO. Specimen of a comparative study of modern Greek folk-songs and of European and Oriental songs.
 VULETIC VUKASOVICZ. Songs of wailing women in Servia.
 " " The game of the Moriska in Dalmatia.
 N. W. THOMAS. Totem dances in Europe.
 EMILE BLÉMONT. Poetic tradition.

Costumes, Folklore in general.

- A. DE MORTILLET. Amulets of the common people.
 KUNZ. The precious metals.
 PAUL SÉBILLOT. The evolution of costume.
 H. GELIN. Evolution of costume in Poitou.
 V. VUKASOVICZ. Ornament among the Servians.
 STANISLAS PRATO. The plastic of folklore.
 COMTE H. DE CHARENCEY. Negro folklore.
 HOFFMANN KRAVER. Folklore in Switzerland.
 DR. CABANÈS. Parallel between folk-medicine and scientific medicine.
 V. VUKASOVICZ. Sorcery among the Southern Slavs.
 MICHEL DE ZMIGRODSKI. History of the primitive religion of the sun and of fire.
 O. SCHELL. Fire-worship.
 ALEX. POKROWSKI. Sepulchral urn ornamented with the *Swastika*, from a tumulus in Ukrain.
 W. BUGIEL. Mikiewicz and the literature of the people.
 STANISLAS PRATO. Dante and the literature of the people.

TH. VOLKOV. The science of the unlettered classes in general and in particular in Ukraïn.

O. DE GOURCUFF. Popular tradition in the ancient French drama.

As a rule, at the conclusion of each paper a few remarks were made by M. Marillier, M. Sébillot, or some other authority. Whether these will be printed or not I do not know, as there was no stenographer present to take down their observations and criticisms. It is to be hoped, however, that in some shape or other these will be placed on permanent record. Some of the communications found no favour whatever, as their authors were certainly not up to date in their knowledge of the subject, and advanced old-fashioned *à priori* speculations that have been entirely superseded by more recent research and criticism.

When all the papers had been read and before the separation of the Congress various motions were proposed and carried. The most important one was that an International Congress of Folklore should be held, if possible, every four years, and that the next should take place four years hence at Geneva in connection with and as a supplement to the Congress for Comparative Religions. After this the subject of a general bibliography of folklore (*Traditions populaires*) was discussed, and it was agreed by the French folklorists present that a plan drawn up by M. Sébillot for cataloguing French folklore should be adopted. For the benefit of English folklorists I append it untranslated below.

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

PLAN DE LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE GÉNÉRALE DES TRADITIONS
POPULAIRES (DESTINÉ AUX COLLABORATEURS).

A.—GÉNÉRALITÉS.

I.

Bibliographies—Questionnaires.

Bibliographies générales: (ex.: *Gaidoz et Sébillot*. Bibl. des Frances d'outremer).

Questionnaires: (*Sébillot*: Instructions et questionnaires. *Gomme*: Handbook of Folk-lore).

II.

Littérature orale.

Recueils généraux ou Mémoires ayant un caractère international.

I. Contes. Contes comparés : (*Miss Cox*: Cinderella. *G. Paris*: Le petit Poucet).

II. Chansons : (*Martinengo-Cesaresco*: The study of Folk-Songs).

III. Devinettes : (*Rolland*: Devinettes).

IV. Proverbes : (*Reinsberg-Düringsfeld*: Sprichwörter. *Cahier*: Quelque 6000 proverbes).

V. Formulettes : (*Newell*: Games and Songs).

III.

Ethnographie traditionnelle.

Faune et Flore : (*Gubernatis*: Mythologie zoologique ; Mythologie des plantes. *Rolland*: Faune populaire).

Médecine : (*Black*: Folk-Medicine).

Mœurs comparées : (*Tylor*: Primitive culture).

Mer : (*Bassett*: Legends of the Sea. *Sébillot*: Légendes de la Mer).

Mines, etc. : (*Sébillot*: Traditions des ponts-et-chaussées et des Mines).

Costumes : comparés des différents peuples, ou des corps de métiers.

Art populaire en général.

B.—PAR PAYS.

Littérature orale.

a) sans indication de provenance.

Contes	}	moyen-âge.	{	ex. : Contes de <i>Perrault</i> . Cabinet des fées.
Chansons		XVI ^e s.		
		XVII ^e s.		
Devinettes	}	XVIII ^e s.		
Proverbes				
Formulettes				

Recueils généraux de France : (*Sébillot* : Contes des provinces de France. *Champfleury et Wekerlin* : Chansons populaires).

b) par provinces (*France*).

Contes
Chansons
Devinettes
Formulettes
Proverbes

(*Etranger*) les contes, chansons, etc., par ordre chronologique, sans dislocation par provinces, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de groupes ethniques nettement caractérisés.

Ethnographie traditionnelle.

France : I. Recueils ou monographies sans indication spéciale de provinces : (*de Nore*. : Mythes et coutumes).

II. Recueils par provinces : (*Sébillot* : Trad. et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne ; Coutumes de la Haute-Bretagne.—*Noguès* : Mœurs d'autrefois en Saintonge), chaque monographie à la province à laquelle elle appartient.

Costume populaire.

Théâtre populaire.

Art populaire : céramique, imagerie.

Etranger : ordre chronologique sans dislocation par provinces.

C.—MÉTHODE DE TRAVAIL.

Mettre chaque article sur une fiche à part ; le meilleur système sera de prendre une demi-feuille de papier écolier, de la plier en quatre, et de couper l'un de ces quatre plis qui formera une fiche :

Légendes et Récits populaires du pays Basque, par M. Cerquand, inspecteur honoraire d'Académie.—Pau, Léon Ribaut, 1^{er} fascicule 1875, in-8, pp. 74.

(Extract du *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Pau*, série 3^e, t. IV. p. 233-275).

Les âmes en peine, légende de l'Auvergne (Cantal), recueillie
par Antoinette Bon.

(*Revue des Traditions populaires*, t. III. p. 581-587).

Pour les langues autres que le français, l'italien, l'espagnol, le portugais, le roumain, l'anglais et l'allemand, il y aura à donner le titre en la langue originale, et ensuite la traduction en français.

Adresser les communications et les demandes de renseignement à
M. PAUL SÉBILLOT, *secrétaire général de la Société des Traditions*
populaires, 80, Boulevard St-Marcel, Paris.

THE WATER OF LIFE.

I have been travelling about a good deal this year, and hence only saw Colonel Temple's paper on the "Folklore in the Legends of the Panjab," which appeared in the December number of *Folk-Lore* (1899), a day or two ago.

I would ask leave to refer to one passage which is illustrated by the beliefs of Eastern Hindostan. On p. 419, Colonel Temple says "ambrosia or *amrita* not only turns up as the beverage of the gods, but also when pure as holy water, in a most remarkable passage in a Hindu story, where it is regarded as the blood of the Almighty:

'The Almighty had mercy: the All-powerful considered them:
Cutting his finger he drew forth the water of life.'

I venture to think that it is hardly true that *amrita* is here regarded as the blood of the Almighty. All that I think is meant is that He drew the water of life from its natural receptacle—the finger. There is no thought of blood in the matter at all. In Eastern Hindostan it is the universal belief that the water of life actually exists in everyone's little finger, and if he only knew how to do the trick he would be able to put it, so to speak, on tap. Bihari folklore is full of references to this. Over and over again

the wise woman or the hero slits (the word used is always the same, *chîrnâ*, just as it occurs in Colonel Temple's quotation, and is the term appropriated to a surgical operation) her or his little finger (it is always the *little* finger), produces (the word is always *nikâlnâ*, to bring out, as in Colonel Temple's passage) the *amrita*, or water of life, and reanimates someone of importance to the story. Nowhere is there any attempt at identifying the *amrita* with the blood of the little finger. It is simply mentioned as a valuable article there existing, which can be found only by those who have received a proper magical education and are hence "in the know."

I am writing far from books and cannot verify my references, but I think that Mr. Crooke has already drawn attention to this valuable property of the little finger.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD HORSE.

In *Folk-Lore*, vol. viii., p. 281, a description was given of the Burial of the Dead Horse at Sea, but no explanation was offered of the name. It seems to be proverbial for *work done in return for payment in advance* (Yorks., Chesh., Linc., Northants, Sussex, Leicester, Hants). See Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *Dead*, ii., p. 38, col. 2. Perhaps the original idea is expressed in the Hampshire proverb, "To ride the dead horse," to be behind-hand. The seamen thus signify that they have worked off the advance pay.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

THE DIVINING ROD IN U. S. A.

We have often heard of divining rods for water in this country; our cousins over the water go one better, and use divining rods for gold, silver, and iron. The "Prospectors' and Miners' Agency, Palmyra, Pa.," actually sell these as a trade article. "Recognising

the fact," says the Prospectors' Company, Palmyra, Pa., "that thousands upon thousands of dollars are expended annually in prospecting and digging into the ground for precious metals, and knowing that the failures are in a ratio of more than a thousand to one of success, we concluded that each kind of mineral has an affinity which, when once known, would lead one to these deposits without the expense of digging with hopes and ending in failure." The logic is not quite clear; but the company claim to have "solved the problem by the aid of our mysterious and complicated piece of machinery which we are pleased to call a chronometer." Pleased to call is good, quite in Prospero's vein; they might equally well have called it a bootjack, as far as the meaning of words goes. The chronometer is dirt cheap at 40 dollars, as any one will admit; and you may also buy for two dollars Orton's *Underground Treasure Book*—a fascinating title, worth the money without the contents. I have before me advertisement sheets with pictures of these mysteries, scintillating electric sparks to all appearance out of the end. There is also a prospecting Prospero, pick in hand, who holds one of these rods before him, and gazes with reasonable surprise at the flashes which issue from it. The goldometer appears to be an even more powerful agent, yet is sold for the ridiculous price of 12 dollars.

A long wreath of testimonials is appended, from which I cull a few blossoms. "The rods are the finest of anything I ever saw. My mother hid five dollars and I found it all right. Yours truly, W.P."—"One instant my rod attracted 800 yards to 10 dollars." (It might attract to Mr. Kruger from this country, one would think.)—"The rod drawed so hard that no man could hold it." This prepares us to learn that "Mrs. J. S." found her rod would "hunt like a bloodhound." It remains to add that ALL OUR INSTRUMENTS ARE GUARANTEED in large capitals, to which in small print is added—"to be well made and finely finished; but we cannot guarantee that each and every one will be equally successful." It seems, however, that one might venture to guarantee even that.

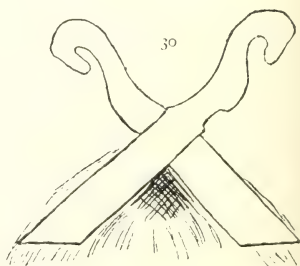
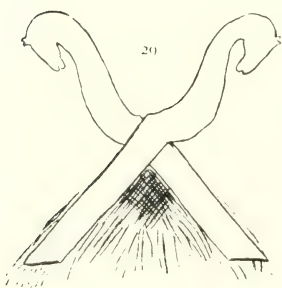
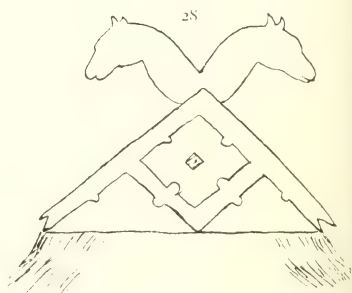
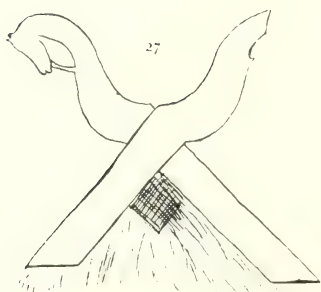
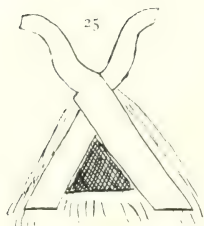
W. H. D. ROUSE.

THE LIFE INDEX.

In the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, September, 1898 (No. 480, pp. 377-8), in a letter from the Rev. P. George Eich, S.J., Provincial of the Tahiti Mission, dated from Papeete, 1st April, 1898, telling, *inter alia*, of his late visit to Easter Island, this passage occurs: "A mon arrivé à l'île de Pâques, j'avais été surpris de l'empressement des néophytes à me demander si le P. Albert n'était pas mort. La chose paraissait sans doute naturelle, puisque qui le R. P. Montiton était le dernier missionnaire qui les eût visités. Toutefois leur insistance à ce sujet n'était pas sans mystère. 'Et pourquoi,' leur dis-je, 'me demandez-vous si souvent si le P. Albert est mort, où il est mort; quand il est mort?' etc. 'C'est,' me répondirent-ils, 'parceque le Père nous avait prédit une chose qui s'est réalisée.' 'Laquelle?' 'Le jour où il fit dresser la grande croix de pierre dans la cimetière d'Hangaroa; il nous dit, "Ecoutez bien. Quand vous verrez tomber cette croix, vous direz: *Le P. Albert vient de mourir, prions pour lui*." Or, la croix de pierre est tombée tel jour, nous l'avons bien vite relevée et consolidée, mais nous avons tous dit "Le P. Albert est donc mort, quel malheur!" Vivement intrigué par ce recit, j'ai voulu voir la grande croix du cimetière, que j'ai trouvé solidement établie sur son piédestal, tout en portant les traces de sa chute, et après avoir rappelé mes souvenirs et invité les insulaires à préciser la date du fait en question, j'ai constaté qu'il concordait exactement avec l'époque de la mort du R. P. Albert Montiton, arrivée le 25 fev, 1894, à Miranda de Ebro (Espagne)."

In the words of the poet Doss, "I don't dror no conclusions" here, but I think the story is a good modern parallel to many older ones, and worth reprinting here, for I do not suppose many folklore students habitually read the *Annales* from which it is taken.

F. Y. P.



GABLE ORNAMENTS.

(From Original Drawings by Miss Madi Braitmaier.)

25. Meinersdorf, 1857.

26. *Ibid.*, 18th century.

27. Hassee, 1817.

28. Kiel, 1856.

29. Elmschenhagen 1804.

30. *Ibid.*, 1721.

NOTEBOOKS AND MSS.

May I suggest to members that it would be an excellent thing if, in default of a qualified individual legatee, they left to the Society such notebooks and MSS. as they may die possessed of? Every member of the Society who devotes any attention to folklore probably accumulates far more than he is ever likely to use. It would be an easy matter to publish an annual index of these additions to the library which might well be of great value to members; the MS. collections could be edited for publication if large, or issued in the Transactions if small.

I don't know if other members, like myself, interleave and annotate the works they use most often. May I also suggest that the real value of such books would be best appreciated if they, like the notebooks, found a home finally in the Society's library?

N. W. THOMAS.

FEATHERS AND RAIN.

In the Bohemian village of Metschin, the body of the schoolmaster, who was buried early in May amid many marks of respect from the inhabitants, is to be exhumed. There, as elsewhere, a great drought prevails, and the story has got about that a cushion with feathers was put under his head. Nine-tenths of the population believe that this is the cause of the drought, hence the proposal to exhume him and remove the cushion, which is in reality filled with hay.

Is this case parallel to the prejudice against the feathers of certain birds in beds and pillows, or is there some special connection between feathers and rain? More particularly in Australia feathers and hair are associated with rain-making. *Golden Bough*, i. 20; *Globus*, xxxi. 272; Salvado, *Memoire sur l'Australie*, 260.

MÄDI BRAITMAIER.

[Our thanks are due to Miss Braitmaier for the original drawings of gable ornaments reproduced on Plate VI. See p. 322.—ED.].

THE BUMBLE-BEE IN MAGIC.

The Rev. J. Conway Walter (Langton Rectory, Horncastle), has sent me the following :—

“My clerk at Woodhall tells me that his great-aunt went to Louth to consult the wise man. His proceedings were as follows. He received the consulting party in a room with no others present and inquired fully into the case. He then laid on the table an open book, the pages of which were covered with queer figures. He then put his head into a cupboard, mumbling some kind of incantation or consultation with his familiar spirit. On reopening the cupboard doors, a large bumble-bee flew out, and presently settled on the open book. The wise man noted the part of the page on which the bee lit and gave his advice accordingly.”

Does the bumble-bee appear as a familiar spirit in other English superstitions of the same kind?

M. PEACOCK.

MISCELLANEA.

FOLKLORE FROM THE HEBRIDES. IV.

(*With a few Notes from the Neighbouring Mainland.*)

(Continued from Vol. ix., p. 93).

AGRICULTURAL CUSTOMS.—*Ploughing*.—Immediately before beginning the spring labour, just when the horses were yoked to the plough and on the very spot of the farm where they were to begin the work of the season, the horses' harness and plough were three times carefully besprinkled with water in which some salt had been dissolved, and a little of the same solution was then poured into the horses' ears. After this last part of the ceremony had been gone through, the spring labour was considered to have been duly inaugurated. This ceremony was performed in the island of Arran within the last ninety years.¹

In South Uist (a Roman Catholic district), when the ploughing season is being begun, the owner, just when ready to put the ploughshare into the soil, besprinkles the horses and all the ploughing implements with "holy water." This is regarded much more than an ordinary ceremony, as it is a matter of great interest to the whole family.

The ploughing season never begins on a Monday, according to the old adage, in which they firmly believe: "*An rud a thoise-cheas air Di-luain, bithidh e luath na mall*," (What is begun on Monday will either be premature or late).

Plough-horses.—When horses in South Uist are let loose on the hill-pasture, after the spring work is over, a *Snathainn* (thread) is tied to the hair of the mane or tail as a charm against the "evil-eye" or any other mishap. The *Snathainn* is obtained from some charmer, either man or woman, who is believed to possess the

¹ It was an ancient custom to mix salt with the fodder of cattle. Isa. xxx. 24, "clean provender," or "salted food;" margin of R.V. "salted."

power of imparting *Seun* (a charm for protection) to the *Snathainn* by repeating an incantation over it. For this *Seun-Snathainn* the *geasadair* (charmer) expects to receive a *Sennseal* (handsel). My informant saw these things done in South Uist a few years ago, and said they are still practised.¹

The First Day of Sowing.—I remember distinctly that in some of the districts of the island of Lewis the time of day selected for starting the sowing for the season was during the rising of the tide, and to avoid doing so during its fall, and, if at all convenient, to begin during spring-tide. It was considered more in harmony with the course of nature and more conducive to a rich harvest to begin the sowing during these seasons than at the falling of the tide or during neap-tide.²

A nail and an egg were placed in the *Sgeap-a-chuire* (sowing-basket) beneath the corn-seed. The bottom of the *Sgeap* was not to be seen till the sowing season was over. The nail was emblematical of long, strong, straight stalks of corn; the egg was symbolical of corn as full of substance as the egg is of meat; and the not seeing of the bottom of the sowing-*Sgeap* during the sowing season was an augury of abundance for the ensuing year.

Lite-cuire (Sowing-porridge), otherwise *Lite-Mhanntan* (Manntan's porridge), was porridge made of *Ulag*-meal, and made once a year only, of what remained over, after the sowing, of the grain that had been prepared and set apart for seed-corn. Thick porridge was made of this *Ulag*-meal. The thicker and richer the porridge the heavier and richer would be the crops in harvest.

This custom came down almost to our own times embodied in the following rhyme:—

“ Là lite Mhanntain,
Lá 'us fearr air bith;
An coire 'us an croucan,
'S a' maide crom air chrith.”

“ The day of Manntan's porridge,
The best day of all;
Kettle-crook, and crooket-stick,
Shaking like to fall.”

¹ See *Folk-Lore*, vi., 154, where a similar charm is figured, and the method of making and using it described.—E. S. H.

² In some parts of Argyllshire, if a house went on fire during the rising of the tide, it was considered a sure omen of future prosperity; but if it happened during the fall of the tide it was taken as a sure sign of a future downcome in life.

Ulag was grain expeditiously dried for the quern, either in a pot over the fire or by a red-hot stone that was being kept perpetually rolling among the grain in a tub. The operator preserved his hands from being injured by the hot stone by keeping both his hands full of grain as he rapidly rolled the stone round. *Ulag* so made is the origin of the Gaelic proverb, which not many understand now: "*Clach fo shiol*" (stone under grain); or in full: "*Tionndadh na claidh fo'n t-siol*" (turning the stone under the grain); in other words, "A rolling stone gathers no moss."

The Mhaighdean-Bhuana, or *Reaping-Maiden*, was the last sheaf of oats to be cut on a croft or farm. Before the reaping-machine and binder took the place of the sickle and the scythe, the young reapers of both sexes, when they neared the end of the last rig or field, used to manœuvre to gain possession of the *Mhaighdean-Bhuana*. The individual who was fortunate enough to obtain it was *ex officio* entitled to be the King or the Queen of the Harvest-Home festival. The sheaf so designated was carefully preserved and kept intact until the day they began leading home the corn. A tuft of it was then given to each of the horses, as they started from the corn-field with their first load. The rest of it was neatly made up, and hung in some conspicuous corner of the farm-house, where it remained till it was replaced by a younger sister next season. On the first day of ploughing a tuft of it was given (as on the first day of leading home the corn) as a *Sainnseal* or handsel for luck to the horses. The *Mhaighdean-Bhuana* so preserved and used was a symbol that the harvest had been duly secured, and that the spring work had been properly inaugurated. It was also believed to be a protection against Fairies and Witchcraft.

I picked up the above note in the summer of 1897 from a farm manager in the neighbourhood of Kilmartin. A facsimile of the *Mhaighdean-Bhuana*, made by my informant, has been presented by me to the Society's Museum at Cambridge, November, 1900.¹

FAIRY-LORE.—*Na Sìthichean a' ruamhar leis a' chois-chrìum* (The fairies delving with the crooked spade, *lit.* "crooked-foot").—A certain poor man, who was at his wit's end with the spring labour, said one evening as the shades of night forced him to stop work: "*B'aill leam gu'n robh m'aiteach crìochnaichte*"

¹ Cf. *Folklore*, vi., 149, 150.—E. S. II.

(I wish my spring labour was finished). No sooner had he uttered this *ordachadh-oidche* (night-wishing) than a host of fairies appeared on the scene, and began delving his fields. In the morning he found that all his undelved land had been digged, and made ready for the seed. One of the fairies, however, had remained to bargain with him, for himself and his fellow labourers, as to hire. The wage the fairy asked was a sheaf of corn in harvest for each labourer. To this the man willingly agreed.

He had a heavy crop in harvest—nine big stacks. The fairies did not forget to call for their *Seannsal* (handsel). Each of them came at the nick of time, and carried away a sheaf, as was agreed upon, till the field was cleared. The poor man sat dumb-founded on a sheaf which he hoped to retain; but even this was to be taken away. One of the fairies who was minus his share gave unmistakable signs of fighting his way towards it. When the man observed how things were likely to end, he flung the sheaf at him, saying, as he did so: “*Is miosa dh’ fhàg na fhuar; oir tha sibh cho lionmhor ri muinntir Fhionlaidh*” (You have left me in a worse plight than you found me in; for you are as numerous as the Finlay people).

This is the supposed origin of the well-known Lewis adage, “As numerous as the Finlay people.”

The name, *Muinntir Fhionlaidh*, “Finlay People,” signifies the Clan Mackinlay. Why this name was given to the fairies I do not know, nor have I at present any means of ascertaining. It was, however, used as a euphemism for the fairies, to propitiate them when the party using it was anxious to obtain a favour at their hands, but under no other circumstances. As far as I know the name was confined to the island of Lewis.¹

Dannsa-Sìth (Fairy-dance).—A man who happened to be passing the *Bruth Shìth* (Fairy Hill) with a *buideal* (cask) on his back, saw the door of the *Bruth* wide open, and the fairies as playful as kittens on the dancing floor. He went in and joined in the dance, with the *buideal* on his back. However, a year after, an acquaintance passed by the *Bruth*, and saw his missing neigh-

¹ According to Macbain's Gaelic Etymological Dictionary, the right spelling is *Fionnlagh*. The older genitive forms are *Finlagic*, *Fionnlaoich*, which seem to prove that the name means “Fair hero.” It has been explained as “Fair calf,” which would suit the phonetics also.—JOHN ABERCROMBY. Cf. a former communication from Mr. MacPhail, *F. L.*, vii., 402.

bour "in high feather," on the fantastic toe. He ventured to go in, and to say : "*Tha'n t-àm dhuit sguir a dhannsa. Cha'n eil cho fad sin on' thoisich mi ars' easan*" (It is high time for you to stop dancing). He replied : "It is not so very long since I began." So pleased had he been with his employment that a whole year of it seemed to him, even with his burden on his back, less than no time.

Fairy Changelings.—When an infant did not happen to be thriving in the ordinary way, it was believed that the child was "in the knolls." (*Theireadh iad gu'n robh e anns na cnuic.*) That is to say, it was believed that the fairies had taken away the real child, and left one of their own in its place.

To get quit of the fairy-infant and to get their own restored, the parents or guardians placed the feeble, squealing child exactly in the march between two townships, uttering as they did so the euphemistical or magical formula, "*Gu'n togadh Muinntir Fhionlaidh thu*," (May the Finlay people take you away) ; and then went out of sight for a little. In a short time they returned, but in the interval they believed the fairies had returned the proper child, and had taken away their own. It is not more than a hundred years since such a ceremony was gone through in the island of Lewis. A very intelligent man of indisputable worth, then aged about seventy, who gave me this legend twenty-three years ago, told me that it had been performed in the days of his own father, in his immediate neighbourhood.

The following expressions are still in daily use among the Lewis people, though most of those who use them know nothing of their origin, viz.:—" *Tha thu anns na cnuic*" (Thou art in the knolls). "*Is tu tha anns na cnuic*" (*lit.* It is thou that art in the knolls), applied to a young person who is thin and stunted. The magic formula, slightly altered thus : "*Togail Muinntir Fhionlaidh ort*" (May you get the lifting or taking away of the Finlay people), is now used as a malediction. The common Lewis proverb, "*Cho lionmhor ri Muinntir Fhionlaidh*" (As numerous as the Finlay people), has already been referred to.

A certain mother, tradition says, was nursing a fairy instead of her own child : "*Ach cha robh ire no piseach a' tighinn air, agus cha robh ràin a' dol as a' cheann*" (But there was neither growth nor progress, and it never ceased crying). As it was ceaselessly crying one day, the supposed mother said to it : "*Is mi tha seachd*

sglth dhiot" (I am seven times tired of you). To her amazement the supposed infant replied: "*Ma ta, ars easan, na'n deanadh tu rùn maith ormsa, bheirmise faochadh dhuit, agus dheanadh greis dannsa dhuit,*" (Well, said he, if you would keep it a secret, I would give you some relief and would dance for you for a while.) She promised that she would. It set to it, in the likeness of a *bodach beag sgiobalta* (a little, smart old man). When it was tired with dancing, it returned to her lap, just in all respects as it was before. She told her friends what had happened. They advised her to put on a good fire, and to coax it to dance again, and when it was at it, to watch it, and to take the first opportunity that presented itself to throw it into the fire. She, as was directed, threw it into the fire, and it screaming ran out of the house. No sooner did it do so than her own child was at once imperceptibly restored.

In days long gone by, it was believed that the fairies could infect infants with various and strange diseases. The Hives, a malady incident to infants, is still called in some districts *A' Bhreac-Shith*, the Fairy-pox.¹

Unbaptized Children.—In the Lewis, when the baptism of children was delayed, through parental neglect, beyond the ordinary period, the male child was called *Maoldonuich* (Ludovic), *i.e.*, a devotee of St. Dominic; and the female, *Creudach*, *i.e.*, a child of the Creed; originally to indicate that though unbaptized they were nevertheless under the protection of the Church. But when these names were sneeringly applied as nicknames by their neighbours, the careless parents were frequently compelled by the entreaties of their children to bring them to baptism that they might be freed from such taunts.

In some parts of the Southern Highlands (Argyllshire), almost within living memory, when a child died unbaptized, its funeral was delayed till after sunset. It was then brought to the churchyard and buried, as it was considered improper to bury it in full daylight. A young clerical friend, from Ross-shire, informed me quite lately, that he himself saw the above custom observed in his native district, about twelve years ago; and said that, for anything he knows to the contrary, the same custom may still be in vogue.

LEECHCRAFT (*Baptismal Water used in*).—Baptismal water,

"HIVES, HYVES, *s. pl.* Any eruption in the skin, proceeding from an internal cause. S[cottish] *Hives* is used to denote both the *red* and *yellow gum*. Loth[ian]." Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, 1818.—ED.

sipped immediately after the performance of the rite, was supposed to act as a charm to avert evil and insure good. A clergyman, from Sutherlandshire, told me quite recently that he himself had seen—within the last forty years—each of the members of a family, in which he had performed a baptismal service, take a sip from the baptismal font. He said he reproved them for their belief in such a silly superstition, and there and then put an end to the custom.

A cure for somnambulism was performed by pouring some of the baptismal water on the patient, while awake, but when occupied in conversation or otherwise, in so unexpected a manner as to cause a temporary shock. There are two females in my immediate neighbourhood who had been so treated within the last forty years.

If an infant was baptized with water in which a little wine had been mixed, instead of pure water, it was supposed to act as a protection against midge-bites ever after.

Birth Ceremony.—It was believed that if an infant's lips were made to lick the soil immediately after birth, this would confer the gift of speaking moderately, respectfully, and deferentially, as also to be both chaste and sparing of speech, during the whole course of one's after life. Though this custom long ago became a thing of the past, yet its echo is still heard in the adage scathingly applied by old people to over-talkative young ones: "*Is e do chab nach do bhualadh anns an lar an latha rugadh tu*" (It is your gab that was not made to lick the soil when you were born).

Remedies of various kinds.—A cure for flatulency in babies consisted in burning a small piece of the umbilical cord and grinding it into powder, then mixing it with water, and giving a little of this potion to the baby-patient to drink. This cure was performed to the certain knowledge of the writer about twenty years ago, by a native of Ross-shire, upon a native of Argyllshire.

At Duneistean, near the Butt of Lewis, there is a well at the base of a high rock quite close to the sea, which goes by the name of "Fuaran an déididh," Toothache Well, and which is supposed to cure the toothache. The cure consists in taking in succession three mouthfuls of the water of this well, which are to be kept in one's mouth as long as convenient. Then each mouthful is to be spurted out on a large stone in a cave close at hand, on which the sun never shines. People afflicted with toothache still resort to

Fuaran an déididh for cure. The writer, in the sixties, was persuaded to do so.¹

A cure for epilepsy consisted in the patient taking a drink of water out of a newly dug-up human skull. The writer, as a boy, was well acquainted with a young man who was taken by his father to a burying-place at the time of a funeral, and made to take a drink from a skull that had then been dug up. It was said that he never after that had a fit.

A friend of mine told me quite recently, that when he was a boy in the Shawbost School, early in the sixties, one of his class-fellows, as he sat beside him at the writing-desk, took a fit of epilepsy. On the following day, his father and a man well known to the writer, of local fame for curing that dreadful malady, came to the school-house. They opened the floor at the very spot at which the boy had the fit, and placed a living black cock, with clippings of the patient's hair and nails, in the opening made, covered it over, adjusted the floor to its usual level, and left the cock there. My friend said that he was in school with the boy for some time thereafter, and never saw or heard of his taking another fit. The unfortunate black cock has had a hard time of it, not only in the Highlands, but almost among all nations both barbarous and civilized.²

To cure a swollen uvula, the quack doctor took hold of a tuft of the patient's hair right above the uvula, and pulled it hard several times. The tuft of hair thus pulled was then tied round with a woollen thread, which is knotted several times. The

¹ There were three other wells in Lewis noted for curious qualities: one at Loch Carloway that never whitens linen; St. Cowston's well at Garabost, which never boils any kind of meat, though it be kept on fire all day; and St. Andrew's well at Shiadair, which was made a test to know whether a sick person were to die or not. One was sent with a wooden dish to bring some of the water of this well to the patient. If the dish, which was then laid softly upon the surface of the water, turned *Deiseil* (sun-ways), it was believed that the patient would recover, but if it turned *Fuathal* (way-of-North), that he would die. Vide MARTIN, *Western Isles*, p. 7.

² "*Sacrifice of a Cock*.—At Contin a boy took ill one day in school. Not long after the schoolmaster called at the boy's home to ask for the patient. He entered quite unexpectedly. He found him in bed, and on looking more narrowly he saw a hole below the bed with a cock lying dead in it. An old woman, a neighbour, was standing near the bed with her hands stained with blood. Ross-shire." (MS. note of the late Rev. Dr. Gregor.) See also a previous communication by Mr. MacPhail, *F. L.*, vi., 167.

pulling, the tying and knotting were symbolical : the one, that it—the uvula—was to return to its normal condition ; and the other, that it was to remain there. There is an old woman in my neighbourhood to whom old-fashioned patients still resort for a cure of the uvula. I have not yet learned whether or not she uses an incantation when performing the cure. After pulling and tying the hair, pepper is applied to the uvula.

Am Faomadh-cinn (the falling backwards), was a complaint incident to children when they began to walk. If a child fell backwards, and its head happened to strike violently against a hard substance, it was believed that such a fall displaced a bone in the roof of the mouth. The symptoms of the complaint were feverishness and looseness of the bowels. The quack-doctor performed his cure by placing his middle finger in the child's mouth, on the bone that was believed to be displaced, and placing his or her other hand against the back of the child's head and lifting it three times from the ground, its whole weight resting on the quack's finger in its mouth, and on his other hand against the back of its head. He then took the child in his arms, one arm below its neck and the other below its feet, the child lying on its back. With the child thus in his arms he went round the fire-place *Deiseil* (sunwise)—the fire had been previously removed from the hearth, and the hearth-stone swept—and touched the back of the child's head against the hearth-stone, and walked to the door. He repeated this performance also three times, and a cure was believed to be effected.

When a cow or sheep, or any other animal used as food, was found dead on the hill, its carcass must not be taken home, or utilised in any way, until one first went round it, *Deiseil*, sunways, with fire. The fire so used was called *Teine-Naomh*—Holy Fire. It is not more than ninety years since this custom was given up in some districts of the island of Lewis. My informant, a man about seventy years of age, told me—twenty-four years ago—that his own mother was among the first to discontinue this and similar customs.

To cure the *Aibigil*, or colic in animals, the first person who observed the animal labouring under the painful convulsions of this disease was to make a left-handed rope—a rope made by his left hand—of grass or straw, whichever came most conveniently to hand ; he was to put the rope round the animal's body, and

then to burn it over its body. This was believed to be an effectual cure. I remember, as a dream, a friend of mine telling that he himself had observed a stirk of his own labouring under *Aibigil* pains as described above.

This cure has preserved a technical name for an animal disease, which is not to be found in any of our Gaelic dictionaries.

Healing Powers of Certain Persons.—A seventh son born in succession was believed to have the power of healing the scrofulous disease called the “King’s Evil,” by touching the affected parts with his hands. I knew two young men in the parish of Lochs, Lewis, to whom people resorted from all the surrounding districts to be cured of *Tinneas an Rìgh*—the king’s evil. The so-called doctor was quite unconscious of possessing the virtue of healing which the popular mind ascribed to him.

A young man from the mainland of Ross-shire told me quite recently that on one occasion a woman who had travelled nine miles to a seventh-son-doctor in his native district, came to his parents’ house and rested there, while he himself was sent to the doctor for water, in which the latter was to put his hands. She gave him a bottle for the water, and a silver coin, as a *Seannsal* (handsel) for the doctor. The doctor put his hands in water, and muttered something over it, which he could not catch. He then put the water into the bottle, and handed it to the youth, saying, “See to it, that you keep this bottle from touching the ground; if it once touches the ground its healing virtue is gone.” To wash the sores with water thus consecrated was considered equivalent to the doctor’s touch.

I remember, one day, when a little boy, being in the company of a reputed witch, who on seeing a *Bratag* (the grass caterpillar),¹ said that one could heal scalds and burns with his tongue, if he would for that purpose consecrate it, by touching the *Bratag* with it.

There were some who professed to cure sprains by touching the sprained member by the tongue, and muttering an *eora* (incantation) over it. My young friend from Ross-shire saw an old woman of his acquaintance curing a sprain, as above described.

¹ A living specimen kindly forwarded by Mr. MacPhail has been identified by Messrs. Watkins and Doncaster, naturalists. 36, Strand, as the larva of the Fox-moth, *Bombyx Rubi*.—ED.

She brought her mouth close to the sprained foot of his friend and muttered something over it, which he could not hear.

Verbal Charms.—I give the two following charms, the one for a sprain the other for a sty, on the authority of Mr. Archibald MacLeod, South Uist, Student in Divinity.

Seun an t-Sniomha (Sprain Charm).

A Phaidir an toiseach—Ùrnuigh an Teagharna—Agus aig a dhéireadh :—

“ Chaidh Criosd a mach maduim mhoch.
Chunnaic e cnàmhan nan each air am bristeadh ma seach ;
Chuir e cneamh ri cneamh, chuir e smuais ri smuais ;
Chuir e féithe ri féithe, chuir e feòil ri feòil, chuir e fuil ri fuil :
Is mar a Chàraich e sin, gu’n càraich thu so.”

First, the Lord’s Prayer at the beginning and at the close of the charm :—

“ Christ went out at early morn.
He saw horses’ bones broken and scattered ;
He put bone to bone, and marrow to marrow ;
He put sinew to sinew, and flesh to flesh, and blood to blood
And as He repaired that, may you mend this.”

Eòra-Seun-air an Leamhragan (Charm for the Sty).

Bha’n eora so air agradh mar a leanas :—An toiseach.—“ A Phaidir ”—Ùrninghan Tighearna, an deigh sin an eòra mar so :—

“ Carson a bhiodh a h-aon an so ?
Gun a dhà ’bhi’n so ?
Carson a bhiodh a dhà’n so ?
Gun a trì a bhi’n so ? ” &c.

Agus mar sin gu ruige naoi, agus a phaidir aig a dheireadh. Agus dh’fheumadh an geasadair anail a chumail fhad ’sa bhiodh e ag radh na eòra, air neo cha deanadh an eòra leaghas, agus bha i gu bhi air a radha air bucull a ghalais.

First the Lord’s Prayer, then the charm :—

“ Why there should be one here ?
Without two being here ?
Why there should be two here ?
Without three being here ? ” &c.

The numbers rise to nine, which is probably considered a mystic number. The other condition is that the charm is to be repeated at a breath and counted over a small buckle of the braces' belt.

MALCOLM MACPHAIL.

Free Church Manse, Kilmartin,
Lochgilphead, N.B.

A FAIRY DOG'S TOOTH.

(Cf. Vol. viii., p. 382.)

Slightly abridged from a report in the *Weekly Scotsman* (Edinburgh), August 5, 1899, headed "Witchcraft in Lewis," and communicated by Mr. W. A. CRAIGIE.

Kate MacCaskill or Campbell, a middle-aged woman, residing at Holm village, near Stornoway, was charged at Stornoway before Sheriff Campbell with committing a breach of the peace on 31st May last. Mrs. Mackay [the complainant], who gave her evidence in Gaelic, stated that on the occasion in question Mrs. MacCaskill had said to her that if she (Mrs. MacCaskill) had had the tooth she would use the peculiar properties possessed by said tooth to cause witness's immediate destruction. Mrs. MacCaskill had also remarked that had she the tooth she would have put it down witness's chimney, the result of which would be that witness's house would go on fire. The Sheriff asked witness various questions bearing on the subject. From her answers it appears that the tooth possessed certain curative properties, and that water in which it had been dipped could be used with most powerful healing effect on sick men or animals. Even the mere holding of the tooth produced this curing effect. His Lordship asked witness if the tooth was that of an animal. Witness replied that it was a fairy dog's tooth. At any rate that was the name it got. She did not know where the tooth was now. It was considered a lucky possession. The Sheriff asked witness if the tooth was considered lucky how could it put her house on fire? Witness admitted she did not think it could do that. In further answer Mrs. Mackay could not tell if the person who owned the tooth made money out of it or went about showing it to people. She (witness) had it in her hand ten years ago, and paid one shilling for this. The tooth was said to have come down from time immemorial.

Alexander Stewart, a crofter residing at Holm, had seen the tooth in Melbost, but could not say where it was now. That was thirty years ago, when he saw his mother showing it to another woman. The Sheriff asked witness what the tooth was like. Witness said it was larger than a man's tooth, one end of it red, and the other commencing to decay. It went by the name of "Fairy Dog's Tooth."

Mrs. Stewart, from the same township, heard Mrs. MacCaskill say that she wished the tooth was in "such and such" a place. Witness would not say where. Mrs. MacCaskill also said that if she possessed the tooth, she would put it down the chimney of Mrs. Mackay's house, and thereby set said house on fire. Witness had seen the tooth thirty-four years ago, when an "old wife" in the Holm had it. Witness had paid one shilling for holding the tooth. She had carried it from Melbost to Bayble to cure some cattle that were sick, and the cattle were made to drink water in which the tooth was dipped. It cured them. Water in which the tooth had been dipped would cure sick men or animals. The tooth was supposed to work cures better and cheaper than a doctor, and was considered by many people to be doing great good.

Mrs. MacCaskill gave evidence on her own behalf, and admitted that there had been some "words," but nothing that amounted to breach of the peace. Mrs. Mackay had been twitting her about the tooth, and witness thought it was time to say something on her own behalf. She did say to Mrs. Mackay that if she had the tooth, she (Mrs. Mackay) would be the first person that she would kill with it. She said no more than that. Witness denied saying anything about sending the tooth down Mrs. Mackay's chimney. She did not have the tooth, and could not say where it was now. The tooth cured disorders. It was said witness's great-grandfather was the first to have it.

The Sheriff—How did he get it?

Witness answered that one late night, as tradition said, when her great-grandfather was coming home from Stornoway something met him and gave him this tooth, so the report ran. The Sheriff inquired whether her great-grandfather had any drink that night. Witness could not tell. She could not tell if it was a fairy that met her great-grandfather on the night in question.

The Sheriff said the case seemed to him to be a neighbours' squabble, with two parties concerned, one a Mackay party and

the other a Campbell party, or he would say the one a fairy-dog and the other an anti-fairy-dog party. Another feature appeared to be that because Mrs. Mackay had migrated to Holm from the other side of the island some thirteen years ago, this select and exclusive community in Holm resisted the intrusion. He found the charge not proven, but severely admonished the accused for her abusive and most offensive language. He concluded with a few words of advice as to the manner in which the people of the township should conduct themselves towards one another.

FOLKTALES FROM THE ÆGEAN.

(Continued from p. 344.)

XIII. *The Water-seller's Son.*

(Mytilene: told by Mersini.)

There was once a poor man who sold water. He had only one child, a boy, and he died when it was quite a baby. When the boy grew up, his mother took him and apprenticed him to a grocer; but every day when he went to the shop he heard the other boys say, "There goes the water-seller's son; he is going to be a grocer." So he went and asked his mother, "What was my father's trade? I want to be the same as he." His mother told him, "Your father was a grocer." "No," said he. "Well, then," said his mother, "if you will know, he was a *cafejí*;" and she took and apprenticed him to a *cafejí*. But the other boys still kept on saying when he went to his work, "There goes the water-seller's son." So he came back to his mother and questioned her again, and she was obliged to tell him the truth. Then he said, "I will go out and learn my father's business."

His mother cried very much, but had to let him go. On the road he met a Jew, who asked him where he was going. "I am going," said the boy, "to learn my father's trade." The Jew said, "Come along, and I will teach you." The Jew took him to an avenue of huge cypresses, so tall and thick that it was impossible to climb them. These were the trees on which the birds, whose eggs were precious stones, built their nests. The Jew helped the boy, by some means, to climb up, and then called out to him, "What do you see in the nests?" "I see beautiful shining

stones," said the boy." "Throw them all down to me," said the Jew; "be sure not to leave any." And when he had got them all he called up, "What do you see now in the nests?" "Bones," said the boy. "And your bones will be among them," said the Jew, and walked off. The poor boy, who could not get down, sat down and cried himself to sleep. In his sleep the Virgin Mary came and told him, "The tree is hollow inside; climb down it, and you will come to a slab of stone with a ring; lift it and descend." When he woke up, he began to think about his dream, and, looking, found that the tree was hollow, and there was room for him to get down. He climbed down, and lifting the stone slab, saw forty steps, and descended them. Sitting at the bottom he found an ogre, whose eyelids had grown down to his knees, which prevented him from seeing, so that he was very miserable, dirty, and unkempt. The boy cut his eyelids for him, and combed his hair, and washed him, and changed his clothes. The ogre was so grateful that he said, "Stay with me and be my son." For three months the boy abode with the ogre. The ogre had a house with thirty stories, and all the stories, except that in which he lived, were packed with corn, gold, and jewels. Outside was a beautiful garden, and in the garden tank the accursed women used to come and bathe. The boy fell in love with the youngest of them, and one day, while she was in the water, stole her clothes, and made her become his wife. One day, however, she managed to get her clothes back, and told him she must leave him, and was going to the White Castle, and he might come and find her there. The ogre gave his adopted son an invincible sword and club that would hack and knock when bidden, and a carpet which would carry one anywhere one told it. The boy sat down on the carpet and wished himself at the White Castle. In the evening they had not got to their destination, and he stopped to rest under a plane-tree. (Here follows the incident of birds and monster, as in "The Three Apples;" the monster is killed by the magic sword, the birds say, "Take wine and meat for your journey, and when we say, 'Kri,' give us meat (kréas), and when we say, 'Kra,' give us wine (krasó).")

In the morning the boy started again and reached the White Castle, where he found his wife. She said, "I will not come back with you unless you can get my father's blessing. He is at the Iron Castle, besieged by his enemies." Seating himself on his

mat, her husband soon found himself at the Iron Castle, and there the sword and club did such good execution that his father-in-law asked him what favour he wanted, and he replied, "I want nothing, only your youngest daughter, with your blessing." This was readily granted, and he went back to his wife and took her with him, and the birds carried them up to the upper world.

XIV. *The Negro Lover.*

(Told by an old woman formerly our cook, Theodoroula Mouzouraki, a native of Tenos, but long resident in Calymnos.)

Once upon a time there was a king who had only one little daughter, whose mother had died at her birth. She was twelve years old when her nurse told her that her father was very melancholy, and would not eat or drink. The little girl said, "Then I will go and speak to him." But when her father saw her he became sadder than ever, and did nothing but sigh. She asked him, "What is it, father?" He said, I have to go away to war, and I am thinking what will become of you while I am away." "Don't be unhappy; make me a garden with a wall so high that no bird can fly over it, and give me a golden bucket and chain, and I will draw water and water the trees, and pass the time till you come back."

So it was done; and the king went away with his army. The child drew water twice at the well and watered her garden; but the third time the chain broke, and she took off her shoes and stockings and began climbing down the well to find the bucket. Half way down the well she saw a window, and opened it; and inside she saw a stairway with forty steps. She was curious to see where it went, and ran down it, and found herself in another garden with a tank in it, and round the tank grew golden apple-trees. Thought she to herself, "I'll just pick three apples, one for my father, and one for my nurse, and one for myself." And so she did; down she sat, and ate her own, and put the two others in her pocket. Then she began to wonder why there was no gardener there, and went to look for him. After walking some way through the trees she saw a palace that shone like the sun. The doors were shut, but she saw a little round window open, and peeped through it. There on a sofa sat a very handsome young man and a beautiful lady. The lady clapped her hands, and a tray with all kinds of good things was brought in

The lady gave her husband (for it was her husband) a glass of wine to drink ; and when he had drunk it he fell back asleep. Then his wife, taking the tray, went out of the palace, and on and on until she came to a cave, and into the cave she went, shutting the door behind her. The girl had followed her and found a crevice in the rock, through which she could peep. There she saw the beautiful lady sitting with a hideous negro, whose lips hung down to his waist ; and he was scolding her for being so late. They ate and drank and disported themselves ; and while the little girl was watching, three doves came and spoke to her, saying, "Your nurse has missed you, and she is crying and beating her breast." She begged them not to betray her, and stayed where she was.

After some time the lady got up and bade good-bye to the negro, and returned to the palace, where she found her husband still asleep. She pushed him and woke him up. "Wake up, the dinner is cold," said she. He began rubbing his eyes and looking about. The little girl, who was looking through the round window, got so angry that she threw one of her apples at the lady and put out her eye. Then she ran away back to the little stair and up to her own garden. When she got up-stairs she found her father, who had made a treaty with his enemies and come home again.

The lady bade her husband go and find out who it was who had done her this mischief. He said, "I can't think who it is. Here we are in a place where not even birds can come, but I will find a way to know." So he dressed himself up like a Jew, and took a tray of beautiful things to sell. There were gold thimbles and rings, and all sorts of things ; and with this he went up to the upper world. He came to the king's palace, and the young princess asked him the price of a beautiful necklace. He replied, "I don't sell for money, but if you can tell me a good story you shall have it." So she told him all she had seen down the well, and at the end she said, "If you were not a Jew, you would be the very man himself." When he had heard the story he gave her the necklace and went back to his wife, and told her that he had found out who it was who had put out her eye, and that he had hacked the offender in pieces.

That evening he hung a sponge round his neck, and when his wife gave him wine he poured it on the sponge instead of

drinking it, and then pretended to fall asleep. When she went off, he took a revolver and sword and followed her. She told the negro, "See what has happened to me; my eye is gone. Now you won't care for me any more." But her lover said, "You are always the same to me; but why are you so late?" Then they began to toy with each other. Then her husband shot them both with his revolver through the crevice, and breaking open the door hacked off their heads.

W. R. PATON.

THE BULL-ROARER IN CEYLON.

When recently in Ceylon, Mr. A. Haly, Director of the Colombo Museum, told me that he had seen Singalese children whirling a thin slat of wood round their heads whilst at play, so producing a whirring noise. I subsequently saw them doing this, and was able to procure specimens from Cotta, a small village about three miles from Colombo.

The slat of wood is roughly quadrilateral, not tapered at either end, about 137 mm. long by 40 mm. broad. There is a hole near one end, through which is passed a piece of string, which is prevented from slipping through by a knot at the end, the other extremity being tied to a short stiff stick about 50 centimetres in length. In using the toy the stick is waved to and fro above the head, not whirled round in continuous circles as is done in New Guinea. I was informed that at Colombo a troop of boys whirling these toys, called *runa*, followed the Perahera procession (a ceremony in the great Buddhist festival held annually about the end of May). This is not done at Kandy, their place being taken by boys' cracking whips. As far as I could ascertain, the bull-roarer is not used by Tamil children. Subsequently I saw neater specimens, made of bamboo, used as toys at Anuradhapura, about 150 miles from Colombo.

C. G. SELIGMANN.

CROPPING ANIMALS' EARS.

(Cf. p. 380.)

In Asia Minor it is customary to cut the ears of the large and savage breed of dogs used as boar-hounds, and for protecting the flocks from wolves. The flap of the ear is cut off, roasted, and given to the puppy to eat. This is supposed to make it more

savage. It is difficult to analyse the primitive notion underlying this, but it seems to me that the practice of *biting* off the ears and tails of puppies, which is, I believe, usually followed by breeders, and is familiar to me from prosecutions by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, may be connected with it, and that the dogs' masters may originally have eaten the dogs' ears to render themselves more savage. It cannot be too much enforced on those who cut the ears and tails of dogs in England that they are executing an imperfect rite. Let them perform it in full, or not at all!

Cutting off Donkeys' Ears.—I had a reference, which I have mislaid, to a police case in Ireland, where a farmer was charged with cutting off a donkey's ears because it had trespassed in his crops. This custom was, and I fear still is, very common in Greece and the Greek Islands. It is of course not a mere act of vengeance, but what notion lies at the root of the abominable cruelty I cannot conceive.

W. R. PATON.

A gardener near Newport, Salop, cuts his cats' tails to keep them from trespassing in the woods. His predecessor cut one ear for the same reason. Frank Buckland (*Curiosities of Natural History*, 2nd Series, ch. ii.) explains that this may be partly effectual, by allowing the wet to penetrate into the ear, to the animal's annoyance.

C. S. BURNE.

At Cuzco, the ears of dogs used at funerals were cut off.—*Int. Archiv. für Ethnog.*, viii., 144.

“Wenn die Kuh vom Bullen kommt, schneidet man ihr einen Schnitt ins Ohr; so wird sie tragend. (Mecklenburg.)” WUTTKE, *Der d. Volksaberglaube*, 3rd Ed., § 698.

“Um den Hund vor Behexung zu schützen, haut man ihm den Schwanz ab. (Oldenburg.)”—*Ibid.*, § 680. N. W. THOMAS.

CUSTOMS IN THE LONDON BUILDING TRADE.

My little boy of four years old was taken one day lately to see the house now in building for us at Barnet. It had already been arranged that he should formally lay the date-stone when it was ready, but he wanted to be allowed to help at once, so the workmen good-naturedly let him lay a brick. As he was leaving the

house afterwards, the head bricklayer called after the nurse, "The little boy will have no luck with the stone if he don't wet the brick!" When she told me this, I took back the child later in the day with a small coin to give to the friendly bricklayer who had superintended his work, and I found the words "No luck" scribbled upon the brick he had laid.

On our next visit to the house, we found that the words had been smudged out, but after the laying of the date-stone, which we were careful to "butter" with a variety of coins, we noticed that even the smears were carefully washed off.

In my native district (the borders of Shropshire and Staffordshire) this would have been called "paying his foot-ale."

The builder of our house tells us that when the first chimney is finished he himself will have to give the men a pint of ale apiece, after which they will hoist a flag on the roof-tree. If they do not get the ale, they will very likely hoist a *black* flag, and perhaps even refuse to continue the work.

ALICE E. MILNE.

ANOTHER SABBATH-BREAKING STORY FROM WILTS.

(Cf. p. 347.)

There was a field near Warminster on which it always rained when the hay was cut. Years ago, the farmer, to induce his men to work on a Sunday in order to get his hay, hid his watch under the last haycock, pretended to have lost it, and set them to search for it. The hay-crop on that field has always been damaged by rain ever since, "so the old men used to tell me," said G. W., a labouring man from Warminster, from whose narration I noted down this story in June, 1888.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO FOUGHT IN ENGLAND.

Near Thirsk there is a field where folks say that the Battle of Waterloo (!) was fought, when the blood ran over the hoofs of the horses.

L. A. LAW.

OBITUARY.

THE RIGHT HON. F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M., LL.D., D.C.L.

Born 6th December, 1823; died 28th October, 1900.

By the death in the fulness of years of Professor Friedrich Max Müller, a notable figure disappears from the ranks of European men of science. A German by birth, he acquired to a remarkable degree the command of a lucid and even captivating English style; a scholar by profession, he was at the same time a man of the world, and the social influence which he thus secured was utilised in the popularisation of the studies to which his life was devoted. How great and how widespread an interest in Oriental studies, in language and mythology, he excited among his contemporaries, is shown by the number and variety of honours bestowed on him. He was a D.C.L. of five Universities—Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh, Bologna, and Buda-Pesth; one of the selected “foreign” members of three exclusive academies; and when the Chair of Comparative Philology was established at Oxford, he was designated in the foundation-deed as its first holder. And besides these academic distinctions, he received the star of the Medjidieh, the Swedish order of the Northern Star, the Legion of Honour, the orders of Albrecht the Bear and of the Crown of Italy; while in England, where he was accepted as perhaps no foreigner, save Handel, has ever been accepted, he alone among scholars was for his scholarship admitted to the Privy Council of the Sovereign.

Nor is it too much to claim as one result of his early contributions to the study of Comparative Philology and Comparative Religion, that the foundation of Societies such as our own is largely due to the interest in these subjects which they aroused. It is true that many of the conclusions at which he arrived have failed to stand the test of later criticism; but this, after all, is the fate of all pioneers of the New Learning. And he pointed out fields which others have since more effectually occupied.

His main failing as a scholar was his unwillingness to reconsider his views when once formulated, or to admit that anything was left for him to learn from a later generation. Even in Sanskrit his scholarship was unprogressive, and he could never be brought to see that he had overrated the influence of language in the development of mythology.

He could never realise how much light is thrown on primitive religion by the investigation of popular beliefs, or that the study of the Vedas could be facilitated by an examination of the customs of the modern savage. That uncompromising opposition to the Anthropological school which appeared even in his last "Contributions to the Science of Mythology" seriously detracted from the value of his work. It was also unfortunate that he never visited India, and was never brought into contact with the modern creed on which the Vedas have left so little influence. If he had enjoyed the opportunity of exploring the shrines of Benares or Mathura, it is certain that he would have found it necessary to reconsider many of his views.

To a later age his reputation will probably in a great measure rest on his edition of the Rig Veda and on the great series of Oxford translations of the Sacred Books of the East and the records of Buddhism, which was due to his initiative. Though the execution was occasionally unequal, the collection as a whole is of the greatest value to all students of primitive religion. His later original work was of less importance, but he displayed a notable sympathy with the higher order of modern Hindu belief which some Anglo-Indians would be well advised to imitate.

W. CROOKE.

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NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archaeological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archaeologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this means it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the annual Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. This Index is already completed in MS. form, and the first part will be ready by March next.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1890 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to MESSRS. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

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- Dunoon, Fisher, Fitzgerald, Fitzherbert, Fletcher, Flower, Frazer, Grave, Greene, Hall, Hardy, Holmes, Ireland, Kennedy-Skipton, Laws, Layard, Maddison, Martin, Massingbird, Morison, Morris, Palmer, Phillips, Radford, Rogers, Sandford, Stephens, Stephenson, Stokes, Taylor, Timmins, Villiers, Warburton.*
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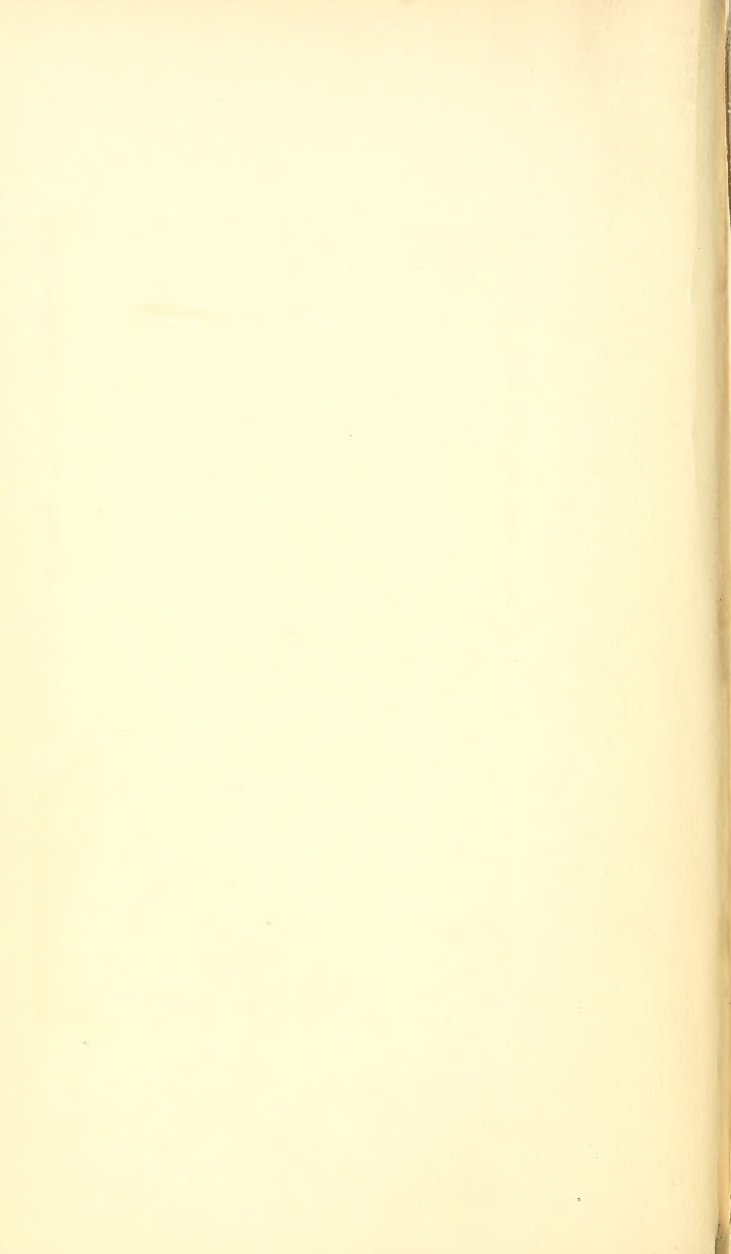
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